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THE

NATURAL, STATISTICAL AND CIVIL

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY JAMES MACAULEY.

VOLUME II.

V. 2

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY GOULD & BANKS,
AND
BY WILLIAM GOULD & CO.
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1829.

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 16th day of March, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, James Macauley, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:

"The Natural, Statistical and Civil History of the State of New-York. In three Volumes." By James Macauley.

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

FRED. J. BETTS,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 10th day of March, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, James Macauley, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:

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FRED. J. BETTS,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK.

CHAPTER I.

CIVIL DIVISIONS, &c.

THE State of New-York, at this time, is divided into fifty-five counties:--These we shall describe, commencing with the maritime. The maritime counties are—first, Suffolk, Queens, and Kings; these comprehend Long Island. Secondly, Richmond, which comprehends Staten Island:—and, third, New-York, which comprehends Manhattan Island.

SUFFOLK, which comprehends the eastern and middle parts of Long Island, is bounded northerly by the Sound, which separates it from the state of Connecticut, easterly and southerly by the Atlantic ocean, and westerly by the county of Queens. It is eighty-three miles in length, from east to west, and from two to twenty in breadth, from north to south, containing about eight hundred square miles, or five hundred and twelve thousand acres of land. In the year 1825, the population, agreeable to the state census, was twenty-three thousand six hundred and ninety-five, being almost thirty to every square mile. The improved land, at the same time, amounted to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-six acres, rather over one third of the whole.

Suffolk was erected into a county November 1st, 1683. It is subdivided into nine towns. The first settlement, properly speaking, was made at Southold, in 1640. This county is very much

indented with bays, inlets and coves. Gardner's bay, at the easterly end of the county, penetrates about twenty-eight miles; and Peconic bay, which is a continuation of the same bay, about twelve miles farther. The former contains Shelter Island, Gardner's Island, &c. and the latter, Hog and Plumb islands.

The soil of Suffolk, in general, is light, being mostly sandy loams, sand, and gravel. Nearly all the county may be termed alluvial.

Shelter island, containing about eight thousand acres, lies at the eastern extremity of the county. Great Hog island, half a mile southerly of it, is three miles and a half long. Gardner's island contains twenty-five hundred acres. It was called by the Montauks *Manchano ck.* Plumb is three miles long and one broad. The Montauks called Shelter island *La-han-sac-a-quat-wo-mac*, that is, the island sheltered by other islands. Fisher's island is nine miles north-easterly of Plumb island, and is nine miles long and one broad.

Sagg Harbour, a post village and port of entry in the north-easterly corner of Southampton, the largest village in the county, contains one hundred houses. It has a good harbour, and is distant from the city of New-York one hundred miles.

There are no streams in the county that deserve notice in a work of this kind.

QUEENS lies west of Suffolk, and is bounded on the north by Long Island Sound, on the east by Suffolk, on the south by the Atlantic ocean, and on the west by Kings. It contains about three hundred and fifty-five square miles, or two hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred acres of land. Queens is about twenty-five miles in length, from east to west, and, where broadest, nineteen in an opposite direction. It embraces nearly one third of the island. Its surface is either flat or moderately diversified. The northern part is primitive and the southern alluvial. Hempsted plains, which are fifteen miles in length, and from three to six in breadth, are in the latter. The ridge, denominated the spine of Long Island, runs through this county. Harbour-hill, the most elevated point is three hundred and nineteen feet above the level

of the ocean. The soil of this county is generally better than that of Suffolk. The improved lands comprise one hundred and forty-four thousand eight hundred and ninety-three acres, which fall rather under seven-elevenths. The population, in 1825, was twenty thousand three hundred and thirty-one; which would give about fifty-seven inhabitants to every square mile.

Queens was erected into a county November 1st, 1683. Its principal villages are Flushing, Newton, and Jamaica. The towns amount to sixteen.

Kings is bounded on the east by Queens, on the south by Jamaica bay and the Atlantic ocean, on the west by the Narrows, which separate it from Staten Island, and on the north-west by New-York Bay and East River. The latter river separates it from New-York, or Manhattan island. Its area contains about eighty-one square miles, or fifty-two thousand one hundred and sixty acres of land. After Richmond and New-York, it is the smallest county in the state. Kings, in 1825, contained fourteen thousand six hundred and seventy-nine inhabitants. The improved land, in the same year, comprised twenty-four thousand four hundred and twenty-seven acres. The population to every square mile is one hundred and eighty-one.

Kings was erected into a county November 1st, 1683. Its surface is level, or very moderately undulated. The soil is mostly a sandy loam, and not productive, unless rendered so by the aid of manures and good husbandry. Kings is subdivided into six towns. The largest village is Brooklyn, opposite to the city of New-York. Its situation, in some respects, is nearly equal to that of New-York. Its population is probably nine thousand.

Barren Island, lying at the mouth of Jamaica bay, is three or four miles long. Fort Fayette, constructed lately at the Narrows, is in this county. The works of defence erected on Brooklyn heights, by the British during the revolution, are now in ruins. The battle of Long Island, fought in August, 1776, between the Americans and British, was in the town of Brooklyn.

In 1665, the English called Long Island Yorkshire, and distributed it into three ridings, the east, north, and west. They very

nearly corresponded with its present divisions. The natives called this island *Matowacs*.

RICHMOND, comprehending Staten Island, lies southwesterly of the city of New-York. It is bounded, on the east by New-York bay and the Narrows, which divide it from Long Island, on the south by Sandy Hook bay, on the west by a strait, which separates it from New Jersey, and on the north by Newark bay and Arthur kull Sound or the Kills. Its length is fourteen miles, and its greatest breadth eight. It contains seventy-seven square miles, or forty-nine thousand two hundred and eighty acres of land. The improved lands comprise twenty-two thousand one hundred and seventy-eight acres. The population was five thousand nine hundred and thirty-two, in 1825, which gives an average of seventy-seven persons to every square mile. Richmond is subdivided into four towns. The only village of moment is at the Quarantine, and that is small. Prince's bay, at the south end of the island, affords a convenient harbour for vessels.

Staten Island was occupied and fortified by the British during the revolutionary war. The possession of this island is of vital importance to the state, since he that is possessed of it can command the city of New-York.

The city and county of NEW-YORK comprise Manhattan island and some smaller islands lying in East River and New-York bay. Manhattan island is fourteen miles and a half in length, from north north east to south southwest, and from half a mile to two miles in breadth, in a contrary direction, containing twenty-two square miles, or fourteen thousand and eight acres of land. It is between forty degrees and forty-two minutes, and forty degrees and fifty-two minutes north latitude. It is bounded eastwardly by Harlem river and East river, which respectively separate it from Westchester and Long Island, southwardly by New-York bay, westwardly by the Hudson, and northwardly by Harlem river, lying between it and Westchester. Harlem river is a mere strait, extending from a point on the Hudson to one on the East river. In regard to territory, this is the least county in the state. The

improved land (we presume exclusive of that on which the city of New-York stands) is five thousand seven hundred and eighty-five acres. The population, according to the census of 1825, was one hundred and sixty-six thousand and eighty-six. The city alone, at present, is computed to contain two hundred thousand. The surface of the island, particularly the northern part, is considerably diversified with hills. The soil is mostly a sandy loam, thinly spread over the primitive rocks, which often rise above it in bare masses. It is, unless well manured, but very moderately productive.

New-York was erected into a county the 1st of November, 1683. Colonel Dongan was then governor of the colony. The first settlement made in the state was in this county in the year 1614—but of this hereafter.

The British, after the battle on Long Island, in August, 1776, and the capture of Fort Washington, by capitulation, in the same month, occupied the whole island till the 25th of November, 1783. Fort Washington, which is crumbling to dust, stood near the north end of the island. Its brave garrison repulsed the British, who attempted to carry it by storm, with great slaughter.

Besides the city of New York, the island contains the villages of Harlem, Manhattenville, Bloomingdale and Yorkville.

The following islands are attached to the county of New-York, to wit: Governor's island, in New-York bay, distant from the battery half a mile, containing seventy acres—the property of the island is in the United States. It is well fortified. Ellis, and Bedlow's islands are also in the same bay, but they are very small. Blackwell's and Purcell's islands are in East river, near Hell Gate. Great Barn island is in the same river: it is three quarters of a mile in length, and nearly the same in breadth.

Having described the maritime counties, we shall proceed to those situated in the basin of the Hudson. We use the term basin. By this is meant the entire surface of a country, from whence a main river, falling into the ocean, derives its waters. Thus when we say the basin of the Hudson, we are to be understood as including the whole country drained by that river and its

confluents. The basins which we shall notice, besides that of the Hudson, are those of the Delaware, Susquehanna, and St. Lawrence. However, as only parts of those basins are within the state, our remarks will be mostly confined to those parts. In describing the counties on the Alleghany we shall speak of them as being in the valley of that river. The Alleghany, if the reader remember our description of it, is the main branch of the Ohio, a tributary of the Mississippi.

The counties in the basin of the Hudson, are, Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess. Columbia, Rensselaer, and Washington, on the east side of that river; and Rockland, Orange, Ulster, Green, Albany, and Saratoga, on the west side. Warren, lying north of Saratoga, and northwesterly of Washington is on both sides. Hamilton is on the Hudson and Sacondaga. Schenectady is on the Mohawk. Montgomery is mostly on the same river. Schoharie is on the creek of that name. Herkimer and Oneida are mostly on the Mohawk. All the settlements of Herkimer are, in a measure, on that river. Westchester is partly maritime, but we have included it in the basin of the Hudson.

Westchester, the lowest of the counties in the basin of the Hudson, is bounded northerly by Putnam, eastwardly by the state of Connecticut and Long Island Sound, southerly by East river, and westerly by Harlem and Hudson rivers. The former river or strait divides it from Manhattan Island. It is forty-three miles in length, from north to south, and from five to twenty-three miles in breadth, from east to west, and contains about five hundred square miles, equal to three hundred and twenty thousand acres. Its population rather exceeds sixty-six inhabitants for every square mile. The land improved comprises two hundred and thirty-nine thousand one hundred and fifty-eight acres, being very nearly three-fourths of the whole. Westchester is subdivided into twenty-one towns. It was erected into a county the 1st of November, 1683.

The surface of Westchester is diversified with mountains, hills, plains and valleys. One branch of the Taconic mountain runs through the easterly part of the county. The country west of this

mountain descends towards the Hudson. The soil is moderately fertile. Westchester is well watered. Hudson and Harlem rivers wash it on the west; East river on the south; and the Sound, with its bays inlets and coves, on the south-east. The little rivers, Bronx and Byram, falling into East river and the Sound, water the southerly parts. Croton river and Peekskill run across the north-westerly part of the county, and fall into the Hudson. Rye pond gives origin to the Bronx.

The villages are, West Farms, White Plains, New Rochelle, Peekskill, &c. White Plains is noted on account of a battle fought there on the 28th of October, 1776, between the American and British armies. Both armies sustained considerable losses.

Putnam is north of Westchester, and south of Dutchess: Connecticut is on the east, and the river Hudson on the west. Its surface is broken by the Highlands, which in part traverse it from north-east to south-west. The Taconic runs through the easterly part, and enters Westchester on the north. Putnam is watered by Croton river and Peekskill, and their branches, which spread over the greater part of the county. We have observed that the Hudson was on the west. Mahopack, Shaw's, and White's ponds are in this county. The soils, in some instances, are good, and in others middling or poor. Putnam is twenty-one miles in length, from east to west, and twelve in breadth, from north to south. Its area may be estimated at two hundred and fifty square miles, equal to one hundred and sixty thousand acres of land. The cultivated land amounts to seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty-one acres, and the population to eleven thousand eight hundred and eighty-six. Each square mile, on an average, contains about forty-seven inhabitants. The lands under cultivation are about one half of the whole.

Putnam is subdivided into five towns, and was erected into a county, from the southern part of Dutchess, the 12th of June, 1812. This county was named in honour of General Putnam, who rendered signal services to this country, in the war for the conquest of Canada, and in that of our revolution.

Dutchess is bounded eastwardly by Connecticut, southerly by Putnam, westerly by the Hudson, and northerly by Columbia. Its extent along the Hudson is forty-five miles, and along the borders of Connecticut thirty-three: its breadth is from twenry-two to twenty-four miles; and its area about eight hundred and fifty square miles, or five hundred and forty-four thousand acres of land. The improved lands comprise three hundred and sixty-eight thousand four hundred and seventy-one acres, a little over two-thirds of the whole. The average population, to the square mile, is fifty-five, within a fraction; the whole number being forty-six thousand six hundred and ninety-eight.

Dutchess is subdivided into sixteen towns. It contains the villages of Poughkeepsie, Fishkill, Rhinebeck, Redhook, &c. The eastern and southern parts are somewhat broken by the Taconic and Highlands; the residue is pleasingly diversified with hills valleys and plains, which decline towards the Hudson. The soil is in general productive.

Dutchess is watered by Fishkill, Croton river, Wappinger's and Ancram creeks and Green river. All are considerable streams, and fall into the Hudson, except Green river, which makes its way into the Housatonick. Besides these the Hudson washes it on the west for a distance of forty-five miles. Dutchess was erected into a county November 1st, 1683.

Columbia has Massachusetts on the east, Dutchess on the south, the Hudson on the west, and Rensselaer on the north. Its length on the Hudson is about twenty-five miles, and on the Massachusetts border about thirty-one; and its breadth from nineteen to twenty-two miles. Its area contains about five hundred and eighty square miles, equal to three hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred acres of land. The number of acres improved is two hundred and sixty-four thousand one hundred and sixty-four, which is about thirteen-eighteenths of the whole. The population of the county, in 1825, was thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and seventy, which would give an average to every square mile of rather over sixty-five inhabitants.

Columbia is subdivided into fourteen towns. It contains the city

of Hudson, and the villages of Claverack, Kinderhook, Ancram, New-Lebanon, &c. It was erected into a county April 4th, 1786.

Columbia is variegated with mountains, hills, plains, vales and valleys. The Taconic and Peterborough mountains run through this county. The former is on the boundary. Between these mountains, there is a vale that stretches through the county. The towns of Lebanon, Canaan, Austerlitz, Hillsdale, Taghkanick and Ancram are in it. Between the Hudson and Peterborough mountains, the country exhibits either a flat, rolling, or hilly surface. The soils of Columbia, although generally good, present every variety, from the rich river alluvion, to the barren plain and mountain rock.

Besides the Hudson, which laves Columbia on the west, it is watered by Kinderhook and Ancram creeks, with their branches, and Green river. The two former are streams of considerable magnitude.

Rensselaer is bounded on the east by Vermont and Massachusetts, on the south by Columbia, on the west by the Hudson, and on the north by Washington. Its average length is about twenty-eight and a half miles from north to south, and its average breadth in an opposite direction, about twenty-one. Its extreme length on the Hudson, is rather over thirty miles. Its area, we have from the several datas, estimated at six hundred square miles, or three hundred and eighty-four thousand acres of land.

The Williamstown, or Taconic mountain, is on the eastern border, being partly in this county, and partly in New-England. A few miles westwardly is the Peterborough or Bald mountain. It extends through the county. Between these mountains there is the valley of Little Hoosack, and part of the vale of Lebanon. Westwardly of the latter mountain, the country is diversified with hills, plains and valleys. The lands of Rensselaer are usually good.

This county is watered by Poesten kill, Hoosack river, and Kinderhook creeks. The Hoosack is a river of some magnitude. It is bordered by rich alluvions. Little Hoosack, Tomhanick, &c. fall into it. The Hudson washes all the westerly side of the county. It is occasionally bordered by flats.

The improved land in Rensselaer amounts to two hundred and

thirty-four thousand four hundred and sixty-nine acres; being not quite two-thirds of the whole. The population in 1825, was forty-four thousand and sixty-five; rather over seventy-three to every square mile.

Rensselaer contains the city of Troy, and the villages of Lansingburgh, Bath, Greenbush, Hoosack Falls, Scaghtikoke, Nassau, Pittstown, &c. This county was erected February 7th, 1791, and is now subdivided into thirteen towns, exclusive of the city of Troy.

Washington is bounded eastwardly by Vermont, southwardly by Rensselaer, westwardly by the Hudson and the county of Warren, and northwardly by Essex. On the east, lake Champlain separates it from Vermont for a distance of sixteen or seventeen miles. Lake George lies between it and Warren, for twenty-four miles. The entire length of the county, from north to south, is sixty-four miles. Its average breadth to South Bay is about seventeen miles; thence northerly about six. Averaging all these, and deducting the waters of the lakes, its superfices will be found not to vary far from nine hundred and twenty square miles, or six hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred acres of land. The cultivated lands, or such as are cleared, comprise two hundred and fifty-two thousand, seven hundred and ninety-six acres, being short of five-twelfths. The inhabitants, in 1825, numbered thirty-nine thousand two hundred and eighty, giving rather over forty-two to every square mile.

This county was erected March 12th, 1772, by the name of Charlotte, but on the second of April, 1786, its name was changed to that of Washington. It is subdivided into seventeen towns. Its principal villages are Sandy Hill, Salem, Whitehall, Fort Ann, Fort Edward, Union and Cambridge. Sandy Hill, the largest, contains about one hundred houses.

The greater part of Washington may be called hilly. On the confines of Vermont we occasionally meet with mountains. The space between lakes Champlain and George, is occupied by the northerly part of the Palmertown mountain. The most level parts are in the vicinity of Forts Edward and Ann. Here levels of considerable extent occur. Between Wood creek and South Bay

there is a tract somewhat broken and very rocky. The lands of this county are commonly good.

Washington is washed for some distance by the Hudson; lakes George and Champlain lave the sides adjoining them; Batten Kill crosses the interior of the county westwardly to the Hudson, receiving in its way Little White creek and other streams; Walloomscoic and Hoosack water the southeasterly part, and Wood Creek, Pawlet, and Poultney rivers, those parts around the head of lake Champlain.

Forts Edward and Ann, now in ruins, are in this county. The first was erected in 1755 or 1756, the second in 1710.

Rockland is bounded eastwardly by the Hudson, southwestwardly or nearly so, by New Jersey; and northwestwardly by the county of Orange. Its shape is triangular, one of its sides measuring about twenty-three miles, is on the Hudson; another, measuring nineteen, joins New Jersey, and the third, measuring about sixteen, is next to Orange. Its area varies but little from one hundred and eighty square miles, equal to one hundred and fifteen thousand, two hundred acres of land. The population is eight thousand and sixteen. The improved lands are forty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-seven acres. The number of persons to the square mile is rather above forty-four. The county is subdivided into four towns. It was erected from the southeasterly part of Orange, February 23d, 1798.

Rockland is traversed by the Nyack hills, and in part by the Highlands. It contains some plains and valleys. It is watered by the Hudson, Hackensack, and Ramapo.

Forts Stony Point, Clinton, and Montgomery are in this county. The former was taken by the British in the revolution, and retaken by the Americans.

Orange is bounded eastwardly by the Hudson, south-eastwardly by Rockland, south-westwardly by New Jersey, and Delaware and Mongaup rivers, and northwardly by the counties of Sullivan and Ulster. The shape of this county renders it difficult to give its length, breadth and dimensions with accuracy. We shall endeavour,

however, to give some of them. Its greatest length from east to west, is thirty-seven miles: on the Hudson it has a breadth of seventeen miles: a few miles back a line drawn from Ulster to New Jersey would be thirty miles. Its breadth then diminishes, as you go westwardly, till at its west end it is only three miles. It probably contains about six hundred square miles, equal to three hundred and eight-four thousand acres of land, of which two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and eleven are improved, being nearly two-thirds. In 1825, the population was forty-one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, nearly seventy to every square mile. Orange was erected the first of November, 1683.

The Highlands traverse the south-easterly part of this county, while the Shawangunk and others, traverse the westerly, or rather north-westerly. Between these mountains are some valleys and vales. The lands of Orange are often fertile.

Besides the Hudson and Delaware, which wash the extremes of this county, it is watered by the Wallkill, Shawangunk, Neversink and their auxiliaries.

West Point and Fort Putnam are in this county, at the northern extremity of the Highlands. West Point plain is one hundred and seventy-six feet above the tide-waters of the Hudson, and Fort Putnam five hundred and seventy-six.

The most considerable villages are, Newburgh, Goshen, Montgomery, Blooming Grove, Phillipsburg, Orange, and Chester.

Ulster has the Hudson on the east, Orange on the south, Sullivan on the southwest, Delaware on the northwest, and Greene on the north. Its outlines are very irregular. Its extreme length, from east to west, is forty-nine miles, and its extreme breadth from north to south forty-two. On the Hudson its breadth is thirty-seven miles, while towards its western end it is quite narrow, and at last ends in a point. It contains about one thousand square miles, or six hundred and forty thousand acres of land. Of these only one hundred and sixty thousand four hundred and fifty-one acres were under cultivation in 1825, very little over the one quarter. The population in the same year was thirty-two thousand and fifteen, giving an average to every square mile of about thirty-two inhabitants.

The greater part of this county is broken by mountains and hills. The Shawangunk advances into it from Orange; the blue mountains cross it from south to north, between twenty and thirty miles westwardly of the Hudson; while the lofty Kaatskill, on the side of Greene, dip into it making a large sweep.

The Hudson washes Ulster on the east. The Wallkill runs northeasterly across the southeasterly part of the county about twenty-five miles, before it reaches the Hudson. The Shawangunk creek has about seven miles of its course in this county, before it enters the Wallkill. The Rundout, which unites with the Wallkill, about six miles from the Hudson, has most of its course in the interior parts. The Esopus waters the northerly and northeasterly parts, most of its course, which exceeds fifty miles by its windings, being in this county. The Neversink, that descends into the Delaware; Beaver creek, that flows into the Papachton, and some small branches of the latter river, have their sources in the westerly parts, or those parts adjoining Sullivan and Delaware.

The lands of Ulster exhibit every variety of soil, from the fertile alluvion to the barren rock.

Ulster was erected into a county the first of November, 1683. It is subdivided into thirteen towns. The villages of Kingston, Hurley, and Marbletown are the largest. Kingston was settled in 1616 by some Hollanders.

The Hudson and Delaware canal passes through this county, from south-west to north-east, dividing it into nearly two equal parts. Its course is upwards of thirty miles. It runs by Kingston, leaving it to the north-west.

GREENE is bounded on the east by the Hudson, on the south by Ulster, on the west by Delaware, and on the north by Schoharie and Albany. Its greatest length is forty-two miles; and this is on the Schoharie and Albany borders; and its greatest breadth twenty-two, it being along the Hudson. It contains about six hundred square miles, equal to three hundred and eighty-four thousand acres of land. The population, in 1825, was twenty-six thousand two hundred and twenty-nine. At the same time, the lands under cultivation amoun-

ted to one hundred and forty-two thousand and seven acres. The average population to the square mile is rather over forty-three.

Greene was erected into a county March 25, 1800. It is subdivided into twelve towns. Its chief villages are Catskill, Athens, and Coxsakie. The middle and western parts of this county are covered with the lofty Kaatskill, and their branches. The eastern part is commodiously diversified with hills, plains and valleys.

The Hudson forms the boundary of this county, on the east, for twenty-two miles. Catskill creek, which rises in the south-eastern part of Schoharie, runs south-easterly through the county, and discharges itself into the Hudson, just below the village of Catskill. The Schoharie creek heads in the interior, among the Kaatskill mountains, and pursuing a northwesterly course, for about twenty-four miles, enters Schoharie. Some streams falling into the Esopus creek, and the Papachton branch of Delaware, have their origin in this county.

The land in the hilly and champaign parts of Greene are, in general good. Those in the mountainous parts are usually indifferent and poor.

Albany was settled in the year 1614, by some Hollanders, and very soon after New-York, but it was not erected into a county till the first of November, 1683. It is bounded eastwardly by the Hudson, southwardly by Greene, westwardly by Schoharie, and northwardly by Schenectady and Saratoga; the outlines of this county have enough of uniformity. Its greatest length from east to west is about twenty-four miles, and its greatest breadth from north to south is twenty-two. After making some small deductions from its length and breadth, as given, it will be found to contain about three hundred and nine thousand seven hundred and sixty acres of land, or four hundred and eighty-four square miles. The number of acres under improvement, in 1825, was one hundred and ninety thousand five hundred, very nearly two-thirds of the whole. The county, exclusive of the city of Albany, is subdivided into eight towns. Its population is forty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, which gives rather over eighty-eight to every square mile.

Albany displays almost every variety of aspect and soil. On the

east are extensive sandy plains, interspersed with tolerably productive spots; in the middle are champaigns, beautified with gentle swells, while in the west and south-west there are hills, and the precipitous and craggy Helderberg. The lands along the bank of the Hudson are rich. Those of the champaigns and hills are middling, and very improvable. Most of the plains, which were formerly considered mere barrens, are susceptible of cultivation, and under good husbandry may be made to yield abundant crops. The plains are from five to eleven miles broad, and stretch from north to south nearly through the county.

Exclusive of the Hudson and Mohawk, which wash the county on the east and north as far as the county of Schenectady, there are the Norman's kill, Cat's kill, Fox creek, and some other smaller streams. Norman's kill enters from Duanesburgh, and flows south-westerly eighteen miles, and mingles with the waters of the Hudson. Cat's kill crosses the south-westerly corner of the county from Schoharie into Greene. Several branches of this creek rise in the county of Albany. Fox creek descends westwardly into the Schoharie.

Saratoga is bounded eastwardly by the Hudson, southwardly by the Mohawk and the county of Schenectady, westwardly by Montgomery and Hamilton, and northwardly by Warren and the Hudson. The Mohawk forms the division line between Saratoga, Albany, and Schenectady, within four miles of the latter city. The Hudson divides Warren from Saratoga on the north, for about fourteen miles, exclusive of its windings. Its greatest length is forty-seven miles, and its greatest breadth is thirty-one; but owing to the irregularities of its contours, great deductions must be made from these extremes, in order to arrive at its superfices. Taking the average length, which is about thirty-five miles, and the average breadth, which is twenty-two, it will be found to contain about seven hundred and seventy square miles, equal to four hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred acres of land. The cultivated lands, in 1825, were rather over one-half of the whole, being two hundred and fifty-three thousand nine hundred and fifty-three acres. The number of inhabitants at the same

time, was thirty-six thousand two hundred and ninety-five, being about forty-seven to every square mile.

Saratoga is subdivided into nineteen towns. Its principal villalages are Waterford, Stillwater, Schuylersville, Saratoga Springs, and Ballston Spa. It was made a county the seventh of February, 1791.

Saratoga is divided into three tracts; the mountainous, the champaign and level. The first occupies the north-westerly part; the third, the south-easterly and easterly; while the second occupies the residue. The soils differ very much. In the mountains, they are either light, or barren: in the champaigns, they are usually rich; and in the plains, both good and bad occur.

The Hudson washes the eastern and part of the northern sides of this county for an extent of sixty-six miles, and the Mohawk the southern side for sixteen miles. Sacondaga river, in its way to the Hudson from Montgomery, runs in a north-easterly and easterly diretion across the northwestern part of the county. The Kayaderosserass creek is entirely in the county. It rises in Corinth, and takes a south-westerly course for twelve miles, in a direct line, and then an easterly one, for nine, where it opens into Saratoga lake, passing by the village of Ballston Spa in its way. After issuing out of that lake it pursues its course for nine miles under the name of Fish creek, and then discharges itself into the Hudson, where the British army, under Burgoyne, surrendered. The Aelplas passes into the Mohawk, and Anthony's kill into the Hudson. Saratoga, Ballston and Round lakes are in this county: and also the highly noted Ballston and Saratoga springs.

WARREN, which is on both sides of the Hudson, is bounded on the east by part of lake George and part of the county of Washington, on the south by the county of Saratoga, on the west by the county of Hamilton, and on the north by the county of Essex. Lake George and the Hudson river respectively divide parts of it from the counties of Washington and Saratoga. Its greatest length is forty-four miles from north to south, and its greatest breath is forty from east to west, being on the Essex border. Its average length is about forty miles, and breadth twenty-five. These give

one thousand square miles, or six hundred and forty thousand acres of land, including the waters of lake George, &c.

This county has an elevated and broken surface. The Palmertown, Kayaderosseras and Clinton mountains pass through it from north-east to south-west. The soils are mostly light, sandy loams, and sand; occasionally clays occur.

The Hudson holds a diagonal course through this county, leaving some over two-fifths westwardly of it. Its direction, after entering from Essex, is south-easterly about twenty-two miles, and then south-westerly about six. Here it flows southerly fifteen miles, and constitutes the boundary between this county and Saratoga. Its course is then east north-east to the south-eastern corner of the county, fourteen miles in a straight line; but some more by its windings. In the latter distance it also forms the boundary as before. The Sohroon issues out of the lake of the same name, and pursues a southerly course, inclining to the west to its entrance into the Hudson. Stonebridge creek, and the outlet of Brant lake join it. The north-easterly branch of Sacondaga river has its origin in Johnsburg, in the north-western part of the county, and passes off into Hamilton. East Stony creek, which falls into Sacondaga river, originates in the south-westerly part of the county. Above half of lake George is in this county, and nearly half of Schroon lake. Brant lake, French Pond, &c. are also in the same county.

Warren, in 1825, contained ten thousand nine hundred and six inhabitants, and was subdivided into nine towns. It contains the villages of Glen's Falls, and Caldwell. The improved land, in 1825, comprised fifty-two thousand three hundred and forty-seven acres, not quite the one-twelfth of the whole. The average population to the square mile is eleven. This county was erected March 12, 1813.

Forts William Henry and George were in this county, at the head of lake George. Few vestiges of the former remain. The latter is in a very ruinous condition. The first was constructed in 1755, and taken in 1756, by the French, under the Marquis de Montcalm, after a short siege. The second was erected in

1757. The British and colonial troops employed in the reduction of Canada encamped here.

On the east side of the road leading from Glen's Falls to the head of lake George there is a small sheet of water, called the Bloody pond, on account of an action fought on its border, between a detachment of the British and colonial troops and the French, in which the former were defeated.

Hamilton, which is not yet organized for want of a sufficient population, is bounded on the east by Essex and Warren, on the south by Montgomery, on the west by the uninhabited part of Herkimer, and on the north by St. Lawrence and Franklin. This county is little else than one continued forest. In fact it may be said to be surrounded by woods. The adjacent parts of Herkimer, St. Lawrence, Franklin, Essex, and we might also add, those of Warren and Montgomery, are still in a state of nature; the few settlements along Sacondaga and Hudson rivers, scarcely forming exceptions. Hamilton embraces that elevated portion of the state from whence the Hudson, Sacondaga, Black and Racket rivers, and the East and West Canada creeks derive their sources. It is traversed by several chains of mountains: besides being sprinkled with countless and almost nameless lakes, and ponds. The soil, except in some few places, is poor and barren.

Hamilton is fifty-six miles in length, from north to south, and twenty-eight in breadth from east to west, and contains one thousand five hundred square miles, including water; or nine hundred and sixty thousand acres of land. It is subdivided into three towns, and in 1820 contained about one thousand two hundred and fifty-one inhabitants. Its population is not in the table furnished me by Mr. Campbell, the deputy Secretary of State, being included under that of Montgomery. That of 1820, is taken from Dr. H. G. Spafford's Gazetteer, of 1822. The improved land, in 1820, according to the same author, amounted to only three thousand one hundred and seventy acres, which was not quite the three-hundredth part. The general elevation of the country, exclusive of mountain ranges, is from one thousand five hundred to two thousand feet above the

ocean. The county was set off from Montgomery in the winter of 1816.

SCHENECTADY is bounded north-eastwardly by Saratoga, westwardly and north-westwardly by Montgomery, westwardly and south-westwardly by Schoharie, and southwardly, or nearly so, by the same county and Albany. Its form, although not a triangle, approaches nearer it than any other. Its length on its southerly side is twenty-five miles. A line drawn through its centre, from Saratoga to Schoharie would be about twenty-four miles. On the Saratoga border it has a breadth of twenty miles, and at the opposite border, in Duanesburgh, about four. Computing its area from the above data, &c. we have estimated it to contain two hundred and sixty square miles, equal to one hundred and sixty-four thousand acres of land.

Schenectady is composed of hills, champaigns and plains. The latter are around the city, and in the directions of Albany, Ballston and Duanesburgh. Flint hill runs along the east side of Schoharie creek, and across the county to the Mohawk, where it ends in Rotterdam. Glenville is mostly occupied by an elevated ridge of land, extending from the county of Montgomery south-easterly within three miles of the city. This ridge, on the one side, descends to the level of the Mohawk flats; and on the other to that of the plains, and champaigns. The champaigns connect the hills and plains, generally speaking. Flint hill is seen to good advantage from the plain on which Union college stands. The quality of the lands differs considerably. Along the Mohawk the alluvions are rich and highly productive: in the hilly tracts the lands are usually middling, occasionally good; in the champaigns and plains they are lightish, and sometims barren.

The Mohawk crosses the county in an east south-east direction into Albany and Saratoga. The Schoharie runs along its west south-westerly border four or five miles. The other streams are Norman's Kill, Sand Kill, and Aelplas. In Duanesburgh there is a pond called Maria, which is two miles in circuit.

Schenectady county contains one city and five towns; these being its subdivisions. It was raised to the rank of a county the 7th

of March, 1809. Its population, in 1825, was twelve thousand eight hundred and seventy-six; and its cultivated land sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-two acres. The average inhabitants to the square mile are nearly fifty.

The city of Schenectady was founded between 1616 and 1620, by some Hollanders. It is the oldest place in the state, we believe, after New-York, Albany and Kingston. In 1819, it suffered severely by a conflagration, which consumed one hundred and seventy buildings. The Erie canal runs through this county.

Montgomery is bounded on the east by the counties of Saratoga and Schenectady, on the south-east by a part of the latter county, on the south by Schoharie and Otsego, on the west by Herkimer, and on the north by Hamilton. Its greatest length from north to south is thirty-nine miles, and its greatest breadth from east to west about thirty-seven. Making some allowances for the irregularities of its outlines, which are not great, it will be found to contain about one thousand and eighty-eight square miles, equal to six hundred and ninety-six thousand three hundred acres of land. In 1825 its population, after deducting one thousand two hundred and fifty-one for Hamilton, amounted to thirty-nine thousand six hundred and fifty-one. The improved lands, including those of Hamilton, amounted to two hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-five acres; we shall, however, call them two hundred and forty thousand. The average population to every square mile is rather over thirty-six. But little over one third of the land is cleared. The county is subdivided into sixteen towns. Its villages are Johnstown, Caughnawaga, Amsterdam, Canajoharie, Palatine, Fort Plain, Johnsville, and Euphrata. It was erected into a county by the name of Tryon, March 12th, 1772; subsequently it obtained its present name, in honour of Gen. Montgomery, who fell at Quebec the 31st of December, 1775.

Forts Johnson, Hunter, Plain, Paris, House, &c. were in this county: they were small; very few of their remains are now to be seen.

Montgomery is diversified with mountains, hills, champaigns, plains, and vallies. Mayfield mountain, Cliphill, or as we have

called it in the first chapter of the preceding volume, Clinton mountain, stretches in a south-westerly direction from the south-easterly part of Hamilton to the Mohawk river at Anthony's Nose. Northwest of this there are some mountain ranges, but they subside before they reach the latter river. The Kayaderosseras range of mountains enters the county, but it soon falls to the level of the country. Flint hill on the southeast is partly in this county and partly in Schenectady. The Osquake hill courses along the southern borders of Canajoharie and Minden, passing on the one hand into Otsego and Schoharie, and on the other into Herkimer. The country on the south side of the Mohawk, and westerly of the Nose, on the north side as far as the forest, may in general be called hilly. Parts of Charlestown, most of Root, some parts of Canajoharie, Minden and Palatine may be termed champaign. That part of the county south-easterly of Clinton mountain, and between the Sacondaga and Mohawk rivers, is either champaign or plain. The country, on both sides of the Mohawk, rises as you leave the valley. The valley extends east south-east through the county. It is deep and somewhat winding.

The lands of Montgomery, if we except those on the north-west side of Clinton mountain and north of the Black river road, are commonly good, and comprise at least three-quarters of the county. Those along the Mohawk, and in some other parts, rank with the best in the state.

Montgomery is well watered. The Mohawk holds its course through the county from west north-west to east south-east. Its main tributaries are East Canada, Caroga, Cayadutta and Chuch[illegible]eda from the north, and the Osquake, Canajoharie, and Schoharie from the south. These water the greater part of the county. The Sacondaga crosses the north easterly part from Hamilton to Saratoga, and receives in its way West, Stony and Sacondaga creeks. The Erie canal runs along the Mohawk valley.

Herkimer is bounded on the east by the counties of Montgomery and Hamilton, on the south by the county of Otsego, on the west by the counties of Oneida and Lewis, and on the north by the county of St. Lawrence. Its extreme length is about ninety miles, but its breadth is much less, varying from twenty-three down to ten

miles. Its average breadth is about eighteen miles, which would give one thousand three hundred and forty square miles, or eight hundred and fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty acres. The northern and middle parts, comprising about nine hundred square miles, are still covered with woods, and do not contain fifty familes. The southerly part, or that south of Black creek, of West Canada creek contains the improvements and population, or what may be called with propriety the county. The unsettled parts, owing to the poorness and barrenness of the lands, will not be populated to any considerable extent for many years. The population of this county, in 1825, was thirty-three thousand and forty. The number of acres of improved land in the same year, was one hundred eighty three thousand one hundred and forty-eight acres, or about three-fourteenths of the whole. The number of inhabitants to the square mile was nearly twenty-five.

That part of the county which is settled is variegated with mountains, hills, champaigns and vallies. On the north is Tug hill, towards the east Fall hill, while in the west is Hassencleaver, and on the south the Osquake hill. The towns of Manheim, Warren and Columbia, are champaign. The remaining parts are in general hilly. The Mohawk valley, which extends east south-easterly through the county, has great beauty. In some places it expands a mile. On both sides, the country usually rises with considerable acclivity. The soil in general is fertile.

The county is watered by many streams. The Mohawk, which ranks first in size, crossses the southerly part of the county in an east south-east direction. It is augmented by Myer's, Steel's, Fulmer's and Nowadaga creeks from the south, and Staring's and West Canada creeks from the north. The latter constitutes nearly one half of the stream at the union. The West Canada crosses the county on the north side of Tug hill, and for some way forms the division line between Herkimer and Oneida. Below Trenton falls it turns to the south-east running wholly in the former county, and afterwards southerly. Nearly the whole course of this stream is in Herkimer and on its border. Black creek, north of Tug hill, falls into it.

East Canada creek, in the lower part of its course, is common to Herkimer as well as Montgomery. Spruce creek that joins it is in

this county. The streams of note, in the unsettled parts, are Black, Moose, Beaver and Oswegatchie rivers. The head-waters of the Susquehanna issue from the southerly part of this county.

Herkimer was erected February 16th, 1791. It is subdivided into seventeen towns. Its villages are Little Falls, Herkimer, and Frankfort on the Mohawk; Middleville and Newport on West Canada creek, and Fairfield.

Forts Herkimer and Dayton were in this county. The former stood in German flats, and the latter where the village of Herkimer is built.

The Erie canal runs through this county on the south side of the Mohawk.

Oneida is bounded eastwardly by Herkimer, southwardly by parts of Otsego and Madison, westwardly by part of Madison, Oneida lake, and part of Oswego, and northwardly by Lewis. This county is very irregular in its outlines. Its length from north to south is forty-seven miles, and its breadth from east to west forty-six; and the area about one thousand one hundred and twenty square miles, being equal to seven hundred and sixteen thousand eight hundred acres of land. In 1825, Oneida contained fifty-seven thousand eight hundred and forty-seven inhabitants, being rather over fifty-two to every square mile. The improved land, at the same time, amounted to two hundred and twenty-four thousand nine hundred and nineteen acres, some under one third.

Oneida was formed into a county March 15th, 1798. It is subdivided into twenty-two towns. Its villages are Utica, Whitesboro, Oriskany, Rome and Deerfield, on the Mohawk; New Hartford on the Sauquait; Manchester and Clinton on the Oriskany; Vernon on the Skanando, and Trenton on the Lowville road. Utica is one of the largest and handsomest towns in the state, its population being eight thousand.

Fort Schuyler was at Utica, and Fort Stanwix at Rome. The latter is noted for sustaining a siege in the revolution. Colonels Gansevoort and Willet commanded there. During the siege, the Mohawk militia, while on their march to relieve the fort, were to-

tally defeated by a detachment of the British army, a little the other side of the village of Oriskany.

Oneida has diversity of aspect. The Highlands of Black river, and Hassencleaver mountain, traverse and pervade the northerly parts. Paris, Clinton, Stockbridge, and some other hills, advance from the south. Paris subsides near New Hartford, but Clinton crosses the great western road. Between these hills are fine valleys. The residue of the county, comprising the space between the hills, Hassencleaver and the Highlands, and southwesterly of them, as far as Oneida lake and Oneida creek, is either level, or conveniently undulating. The southerly and southwesterly parts of this county, have fertile soils. The northerly and north-easterly parts, although containing comparatively no barrens, have less favoured soils.

The Mohawk, which heads in Lewis, winds through the midland parts of the county. Sauquait and Oriskany enter the Mohawk from the south, and Deerfield from the north. Oneida creek, which falls into Oneida lake, is common to this county and Madison. Skanando, is a branch of the latter stream. Fish creek empties into Oneida lake. Wood creek joins it. The Mohawk river, Oneida, and Fish creeks, with their branches, water upwards of three-quarters of the county. Black river and West Canada creek, with their branches, water the north-easterly part. The Erie canal passes through this county.

Schoharie is bounded eastwardly by Albany, south-eastwardly by Greene, south-westwardly by Delaware, westwardly by Otsego, and northwardly by Montgomery, and north-eastwardly by Schenectady. Its greatest length, from north to south, is twenty-eight miles, and breadth from east to west, twenty-seven. Taking its length, and averaging its breadth, at twenty-two miles, it will be found to contain six hundred and sixteen square miles, equal to three hundred and ninety-four thousand two hundred and forty acres. The lands under cultivation comprised one hundred and forty-three thousand four hundred and sixty acres in 1825. The population, the same year, was twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty-six, rather over forty to each square mile. The ratio of

the improved land to the whole is as fourteen to thirty-nine, something over one-third.

Schoharie was established a county April 6th, 1795. It is subdivided into ten towns. Its villages are Schoharie, and Esperance.

This county is in general mountainous. The lofty Kaatskills cross it on the south, while branches of the same mountains stretch northerly along the creek that gives the county its name. That on the east side passes off into Schenectady, while that on the west side stops near the court house. Cobuskill mountain, on the south side of the creek of that name, extends from the confines of Otsego to Schoharie creek. The hilly parts comprise the towns of Sharon, Carlisle, and parts of Cobus kill and Schoharie. These towns are along the state road, except Cobus kill, and are in the northerly part of the county. The hilly parts and the valley along Schoharie creek are generally, fertile, but the mountainous parts are usually moderately productive, or barren.

Schoharie is mainly watered by Schoharie creek and its branches. The sources of Delaware river and Catskill creek are in this county.

In this, and the following section, we shall describe the counties in the basin of the Delaware.

Sullivan is bounded north-eastwardly by Ulster, south-eastwardly by Orange, south-westwardly by Delaware river, which separates it from Pennsylvania, and north-westwardly by Delaware. Its greatest length, from north-west to south-east, is forty-five miles; and its greatest breadth, from north-east to south-west, thirty-seven. Its contents, after deducting for the irregularities in its outlines, are about nine hundred square miles, or five hundred and seventy-six thousand acres of land. The improved land, in 1825, amounted to forty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-seven acres, a little over the one-fourteenth of the whole. The population, the same year, was ten thousand three hundred and seventy-three, rather over eleven for every square mile.

Sullivan is very much broken with mountains. The Blue mountains, and several other ridges, cross it from south-west to north-east; and, with their branches, overspread the greater part. The lands, except in some of the vallies are poor and barren.

The Delaware runs along the south-westerly side of the county for upwards of forty miles. Neversink river, which rises in Ulster, flows across it into Orange. Basler's kill also has part of its course in this county. It falls into the Neversink after entering Orange. The Mongaup, after a southerly course of twenty-five miles, falls into the Delaware. Beaver kill, from Ulster, winds across the north-westerly corner, in its way to Delaware county. The Rundout has its source in this county. It passes into Ulster. Besides the streams noticed, there are some others; but we shall have to omit them on account of their minor importance.

Sullivan is subdivided into nine towns It was erected into a county the 27th of March, 1809. The Hudson and Delaware canal has some part of its course in this county. It may be a means of adding to its population. The Erie canal has had such a tendency. Several flourishing villages have sprung up since its location and construction, which had not an existence before. Such are the benign effects of internal improvements.

Delaware is bounded north-eastwardly by Schoharie, eastwardly by Greene, south-eastwardly by Ulster and Sullivan, south-westwardly by Delaware river, which separates it from Pennsylvania, westwardly by Broome and Chenango, and north-westwardly by Otsego. Its greatest length, from north-east to south-west, is fifty-three miles, and its greatest breadth, from north-west to south-east, thirty-eight. It contains about one thousand five hundred square miles, equal to nine hundred and sixty thousand acres of land. The cultivated lands, in 1825, were one hundred and fifty-seven thousand eight hundred and forty-two acres; very nearly one-sixth. The same year the population was twenty-nine thousand five hundred and sixty-five; rather over nineteen to every square mile. Delaware is subdivided into seventeen towns. It was made a county the 10th of March, 1797.

Delaware may be called mountainous. The Kaatskill mountains overspread the north-easterly part of this county. Along the rivers Papachton and Delaware are mountain ranges stretching south-westerly. The mountains of this county are, for the most part,

covered with a good depth of soil. Between and among the mountain chains are many rich valleys.

Delaware river traverses the county lengthwise, in a south-westerly direction, to Broome, dividing it into two nearly equal parts. Here it turns, making a large sweep, dividing this county from Broome, and takes a south-easterly direction, separating it from Pennsylvania. Little Delaware, and other streams join it. The Papachton flows throughout the whole of the south-easterly part of the county, in a south-westerly direction, and then unites with the Delaware. Charlotte and Susquehanna rivers, on the northwest, from the boundary of the county. Delaware and Papachton rivers, with their branches, water most of the county.

The counties situated in the basin of the Susquehanna next claim our attention. They are Otsego, Chenango, Broome, Cortland, Tioga, and Steuben. Otsego is on the Susquehanna proper; Broome is mostly on that river; Chenango is chiefly on Chenango river; Cortland is mainly on the Tioughnioga; Tioga is on the Susquehanna and Tioga rivers; and Steuben is on the latter river, Conhocton and Canisteo. These counties are hilly and mountainous.

Otsego is bounded northwardly by Oneida, Herkimer and Montgomery; eastwardly by Schoharie, south south-eastwardly by Delaware and Schoharie, and westwardly by Chenango and Madison. Its length, on the borders of Delaware and Schoharie, is forty-five miles, and its breadth, in an opposite direction thirty-six. It contains about eight hundred and fifty-square miles, or five hundred and forty-four thousand acres of land, of which two hundred and sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine acres are improved, being almost one-half of the whole. In 1825 the population was forty-seven thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, rather over fifty-six to every square mile. Otsego is subdivided into twenty-two towns. Its principal villages are Cooperstown, Cherry Valley, Butternuts, Burlington, and Unadilla. It was created into a county February 16, 1791.

Otsego is diversified with mountains, hills and valleys, and even with some small champaigns. The hills usually rise on or near its

eastern and northern borders, and extend south-westerly and southerly, conforming their courses to the rivers and streams. Every river and creek has its valley and hills. The hills in general gain elevation as they advance along those streams. The lands in this county are commonly productive, and are among the most improvable in the state. There are, comparatively speaking, no barrens, and but little land which cannot be cultivated. Otsego is one of the best grazing counties in the state. Along Otego and Butternut creeks, and Unadilla river, are some rich flats.

The principal streams in this county are the Susquehanna river, Otego, Wharton and Butternut creeks. The first issues out of Otsego lake, and pursues a southerly course till it meets Charlotte river, when it is south-westerly. The second is about thirty miles long, and runs southerly into Susquehanna. The third and fourth have south-westerly courses, and fall into the Unadilla. Charlotte is common to Otsego and Delaware to its union, and then the Susquehanna belongs in common to both counties. The Unadilla divides Otsego from Madison and Chenango. Otsego and Schuyler's lakes are in this county. They are beautiful sheets of water. Crumhorn pond, on the mountain of that name, is also in this county.

Chenango is bounded eastwardly by Otsego and Delaware, southwardly by Broome, and westwardly by a part of the same county and Cortland, and northwardly by Madison. Its greatest length is forty miles and a half, and its breadth thirty. It contains about eight hundred and forty square miles, equal to five hundred and thirty-seven thousand six hundred acres of land. Of these one hundred and seventy-eight thousand five hundred and eighty acres were under cultivation in 1825, being almost one third. At the same time the population was thirty-four thousand two hundred and fifteen, being very nearly forty-one for every square mile.

Chenango was erected into a county March 15, 1798. It is subdivided into seventeen towns. Its chief villages are Oxford, Norwich, Sherburne, Bainbridge, and New Berlin.

Chenango is diversified with hills and vallies, which range with the streams. The principal hills are along Unadilla and Chenango river, and Otselic creek. These, in the main, extend from north-east to

south-west, and gain height as they advance. They are mostly susceptible of tillage. The valley of the Chenango occupies nearly the middle of the county. It has considerable breadth, great beauty, and contains much good land. The lands along Unadilla are also good. The valley of Otselic is partly in this county, and partly in Cortland.

The Chenango river runs in a general south-westerly direction through the county. The Unadilla flows along the east side, and forms the division line betwen Chenango and Otsego. The Susquehanna has its course across the south-easterly part of the county, and Otselic across the north-westerly part. These streams, where they cross, have south-westerly directions. Like Otsego, Chenango has an elevated surface.

Broome is bounded on the east by Delaware, on the south by Pennsylvania, on the west by Tioga, and on the north by Cortland and Chenango. Its length on the Pennsylvania line is forty-two miles; its breadth is various; on the Tioga boundary it is twenty-eight miles, and on that of Delaware only thirteen; midway it is seventeen. It contains eight hundred and forty square miles, equal to five hundred and thirty-seven thousand six hundred acres of land. Its population in 1825, was thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, being about sixteen and a half for every square mile. The lands under improvement, at the same time, were sixty thousand four hundred and six acres, not quite three-sixteenths. Broome is subdivided into ten towns. It was erected March 28th, 1806.

Much of this county is covered with mountains and hills. The land is commonly poor, and sometimes barren. Along the Susquehanna and some other streams there are, however, some fertile alluvions and good uplands. The Susquehanna crosses the eastern part of this county into Pennsylvania, and soon after returns into it, making a very large sweep in its way, called the Great Bend. It then pursues a north-westerly, and afterwards a westerly course, passing off into Tioga. The Chenango has a south-westerly course of fourteen miles before it unites with the Susquehanna. The Tioughnioga flows across the north-easterly parts of this

county, and joins the Chenango. The Otselic creek empties into the Tioughnioga in this county.

Cortland is bounded on the north by Onondaga, on the east by Chenango, on the south by Broome, and on the west by Tompkins and Cayuga. It is the most regular county in the state, being an exact oblong. Its length is twenty-four miles, and its breadth nineteen. It contains four hundred and fifty-six square miles, or two hundred and ninety-one thousand eight hundred and forty acres of land. The cultivated lands in 1825 comprised eighty-four thousand nine hundred and fifty six acres, and the population was twenty thousand two hundred and seventy-one. The improved land amounted to about two-sevenths of the whole. The average population to every square mile rather exceeded forty-four. Its principal villages are Homer, Cortland and Port Watson.

The surface of Cortland, although elevated, is in general but moderately uneven. The northern part is nearly on the height of land, between lake Ontario and the head-waters of the Susquehanna river. The soil of this county is tolerably productive. There are no barrens, and few or no wastes.

The Tioughnioga and its branches water nearly the whole of this county. A branch of Fall creek, of Cayuga lake, has its source in the south-westerly part of the county. The Tioughnioga is boatable with a swell as high up as Homer.

Tioga is bounded on the east by Broome, on the south by Pennsylvania, on the west by Steuben, and on the north by the same county and Tompkins. It is forty-one miles in length from east to west, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight in breadth from north to south. Its medium length is forty miles, and breadth twenty-six. It contains one thousand and forty square miles, or six hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred acres. In 1825, there were eighty-three thousand four hundred and fifty-two acres of improved land, being rather over the one-eighth. The number of inhabitants the same year was nineteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-one. The average population to every square mile is nineteen.

Tioga was erected into a county February 16th, 1791. It is subdivided into nine towns.

This county is mountainous and hilly. In the southern parts, the mountains rise with considerable grandeur. In general they are rocky and barren. The hilly parts adjoin Tompkins and the head of Seneca lake. The lands in these are usually good.

Tioga is well watered. The Susquehanna winds across the south-easterly corner of the county. Owego creek has a southwardly course till it is lost in the Susquehanna. In its way it forms the line between Tioga and Broome. The Catetant from Tompkins augments the Owego. The Cayuta creek is mostly in this county: its course is south-easterly. Tioga river has its way for twenty miles across the south-westerly part of the county. The inlet of Seneca lake runs northerly.

Steuben.--This county is bounded on the north by Livingston, Ontario and Yates; on the east by part of Seneca Lake, which separates it from Seneca, Tompkins and Tioga; on the south by Pennsylvania; and on the west by Alleghany. It is forty-one miles in length from north to south, and thirty-eight in breadth from east to west, containing one thousand five hundred and twenty square miles, equal to nine hundred sixty one thousand two hundred and eighty acres of land. The improved land in 1825 was estimated at one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and ten acres, being over the one-eighth of the whole. The population at the same time was twenty nine thousand two hundred and forty-five, nearly thirteen to every square mile.

The county of Steuben contains some good land, and much poor. The southern and interior parts are broken with mountains and high hills.

The valleys of Conhocton and Canisteo have considerable breadth, and contain very valuable lands, perhaps the best in the county. The Tioga valley has also some valuable lands.

Tioga is watered by the Tioga, Conhocton and Canisteo rivers, Troup's creek, and some other streams. The Tioga enters from Pennsylvania, and after winding across the south-easterly corner,

passes into Tioga county. The Canisteo and Conhocton have courses south-easterly till they join the Tioga.

Steuben was erected March 18th, 1796. It is subdivided into twenty-one towns.

Cataraugus is in the valley of the Alleghany and most of the county of Chautauque.

Cataraugus is bounded on the east by the county of Alleghany, on the south by Pennsylvania, on the west by Chautauque, and on the north by Erie and Genesee. Its length is about forty miles, and its average breadth thirty-five.

The southern parts of this county are hilly and broken, and the northern level, or somewhat diversified. The lands in the former are generally poor, and in some instances barren: those in the latter are middling, occasionally fertile. The Alleghany has about fifty miles of its course in this county and enters from Pennsylvania, and leaves it for the same state. Olean, and several other streams, fall into it. Cataraugus creek flows between this county and Erie. Some part of the Connewango is in this county.

Cataraugus contains one thousand and four hundred square miles, equal to eight hundred and ninety-six thousand acres of land. The cleared lands in 1825, were twenty-two thousand four hundred and ninety-eight acres; being about the fortieth part of the whole. Its population the same year was eight thousand six hundred and forty, being about six to every square mile.

The county is subdivided into fourteen towns. It was erected March 11, 1808.

Chautauque is bounded on the east by Cataraugus, on the south by Pennsylvania, on the west by the Pennsylvania Triangle, on the north-west by lake Erie, and on the north by the county of Erie. Its greatest length is forty-one miles, and its greatest breadth thirty-seven. It contains about eight hundred and twenty square miles, equal to five hundred and twenty-four thousand and eight hundred acres of land.

" Its surface is generally undulating, but no where mountainous. As you go south from lake Erie you ascend for about eight miles,

and in this distance attain the height of about seven hundred feet. The country then descends moderately to the south; and this summit divides the waters which fall into the Alleghany from those falling into lake Erie. Nearly on this summit is lake Chautauqua, which is eighteen miles long, and from one to two broad. The principal streams of the county are the Conewongo, Cosdaga, French, Broken Straw, and Still-water creeks. These run southerly into the Alleghany. Canadaway, Silver, and Walnut creeks descend into lake Erie.

The soil is generally a strong loam, remarkably adapted to the culture of grain. The vale of Conewongo is in this county, and is in some places seven or eight miles broad."

The above is taken from a letter wrote by James O. Morse, Esq. of Cherry Valley, in which that getleman gives a description of the county.

Chautauqua was erected March 11, 1808. It is subdivided into eleven towns. Its inhabitants, in 1825, were twenty thousand six hundred and forty. The land under cultivation amounted to sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and eighty-five acres. Its population for every square mile is rather over twenty-five.

The counties in the basin of the St. Lawrence are Erie, Niagara, Orleans, Genesee, Alleghany, Livingston, Monroe, Ontario, Yates, Tompkins, Seneca, Wayne, Cayuga, Onondaga, Madison, Oswego, Jefferson, Lewis, St. Lawrence, Franklin, Clinton, and Essex.

These counties are divided into, *first*, such as are along lakes Erie and Ontario: *second*, such as are in the valley of Genesee river: *third*, such as are situated along Seneca river, and its confluents: *fourth*, those on Black river: *fifth*, those along the St. Lawrence: and *sixth*, such as border on Lake Champlain.

Erie, situated mostly along the lake of that name, is bounded on the east by Genesee, on the south by Cattaraugus and Chautauqua, on the west by lake Erie and Niagara river, and on the north by Niagara. It is forty-four miles in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west, and contains about seven hundred and twenty square miles, equal to four hundred and sixty thou-

sand eight hundred acres of land. It is subdivided into thirteen towns. The improved land, in 1825, was seventy-five thousand six hundred and twenty-six acres, and the population twenty-four thousand three-hundred and sixteen. The cultivated land was very nearly the one sixth part of the whole. The number of inhabitants to the square mile was about thirty-four. Erie was erected the 2nd of April, 1821.

Erie does not exhibit much variety of aspect. The middle and northern parts are flat, or gently waving, while the southern rises into moderate hills. Grand Isle, and some other islands in the river Niagara belong to this county. The soil in general is good. Erie is well watered by Cattaraugus, Eighteen mile, Buffalo, Seneca, Cazenovia, Ellicott and Tonnawanta creeks. Lake Erie and Niagara river lave it on the west, Cattaraugus on the south, and Tonnawanta on the north. The former divides it from Cattaraugus county and the latter from Niagara county. Buffalo and its branches water the middle parts of the county. The Erie canal commences at Black rock in this county, and runs along the margin of Niagara river to Tonnawanta creek.

The chief villages are Buffalo and Black Rock. The former is one of the most promising in the western country. It is connected with the Erie canal by a branch, extending to Black Rock harbour.

Niagara is bounded on the east by Orleans and Genesee, on the south by Tonnawanta creek, which separates it from Erie, on the west by Niagara river, and on the north by lake Ontario. It is twenty-eight miles in length from east to west, and nineteen in breadth from north to south, and contains about five hundred square miles, equal to three hundred and twenty thousand acres of land. Its improved lands in 1825, were forty-two thousand and fifty-two acres, and its population fourteen thousand and sixty-nine. The average population to the square mile is twenty-eight. The cultivated lands are somewhat over the one-eighth part of the whole.

Niagara was erected March 11th, 1808. It is subdivided into eleven towns. Its villages are Lockport, Lewistown, and Youngs-

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town. Fort Niagara is at the mouth of the river of the same name.

The French established a military post here in 1679. It was taken in 1759.

Niagara comprises a part of the great western plain. The mountain ridge, or steep that crosses the river Niagara, divides it into two parts. This ridge has only one declivity, and that looks towards lake Ontario. The county, therefore, consists of two parts; the lower and the upper: the first ends at the foot of the ridge; and the second at Tonnawanta. The soil of this county is generally good.

The ridge road, a natural causeway, runs through this county from east to west on the lower plain.

Niagara is washed on the north by lake Ontario. It has on the west Niagara river, and on the south Tonnawanta creek. The celebrated Falls, bearing the name of the county, are partly in it. The Erie canal crosses the south-easterly part of the county.

Orleans, which was established November 11th, 1824, is twenty-four miles in length from east to west, and about fifteen in breadth from north to south. Its superfices do not vary materially from three hundred and fifty square miles, or two hundred and thirty thousand four hundred acres of land. In the year 1825, its population was fourteen thousand four hundred and sixty, which gives forty-one to every square mile. The improved lands were fifty-one thousand three hundred and sixty-eight acres.

Orleans is bounded on the north by lake Ontario, on the east by Monroe, on the south by Genesee, and on the west by Niagara. It is uniform in its outlines, being nearly a parallelogram.

Orleans, like Niagara, is divided into two plains by the mountain ridge, or steep. The ascent from the lake to the steep, and from the steep southerly is very easy. The ridge road runs westwardly through the county. The soils are mostly clays, and argillaceous loams, and are very productive.

Oak Orchard, and Sandy creeks are the only streams of moment, and these are not large. Both rise in Genesee. Tonnawanta cros-

ses the south-west corner. The Erie canal pursues an easterly course through this county. Orleans is subdivided into nine towns.

Genesee, which also comprises a portion of the great western plain, is bounded on the east by Monroe and Livingston, on the south by Alleghany and Cattaraugus, on the west by Erie, and on the north by Orleans. It is forty-four miles in length from north to south, and twenty-five in breadth from east to west, containing about nine hundred and eighty square miles, equal to six hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred acres of land. In 1825, the population was forty thousand nine hundred and five. The average number of inhabitants was forty-two for every square mile. The improved land comprised one hundred and seventy thousand four hundred and forty acres, being some over the one fourth part. Genesee is subdivided into twenty-two towns. Its principal villages are Batavia and Leroy. It was erected March 30, 1802.

The northern and middle parts of this county are in general level: we find little diversity of aspect before we approach the counties of Alleghany and Cattaraugus. The southern steep extends eastwardly through this county, and in some respect divides it into two plains. The lands of this county are commonly fertile.

Genesee is watered by Genesee river, Tonnawanta and Allen's creeks, and some other streams. The Genesee river crosses the south-easterly corner of the county. Tonnawanta creek rises in the south-west part of the county, and takes a north-easterly course to Batavia, where it turns and runs north-westerly into Orleans. Its course by its windings is about forty miles. Allen's creek originates in the south part of the county, and pursues a north-easterly direction into Monroe. Cattaraugus has its course near that of Tonnawanta and proceeds westwardly into lake Erie. The Seneca and Cayuga branches of Buffalo also head in the western part of the county, and enter Erie.

Alleghany is bounded on the east by Steuben, on the south by Pennsylvania, on the west by Cattaraugus, and on the north by Genesee and Livingston. It is forty-four miles in length from north to south, and twenty-eight in breadth from east to west, and contains

twelve hundred square miles, equal to seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand acres of land. Its improved lands amounted to only sixty one thousand seven hundred and six acres in 1825, and its population to eighteen thousand one hundred and sixty-four. The improved lands fall short of the one-twelfth part of the whole. The number of inhabitants to the square mile goes rather over fifteen.

Alleghany is subdivided into sixteen towns. It was erected April 7th, 1806. The principal villages are Nunda and Angelica. The surface of this county is elevated, and considerably roughened with hills, many of which are sharp and steep. The country on and near the Pennsylvania border often exceeds two thousand feet in elevation above the ocean. At Nunda the elevation of the bed of Genesee river, immediately above the upper fall at that place, is about seven hundred and thirty feet. The soil, in some places, is rich, but generally speaking, middling or poor.

The Genesee, in its way from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, runs through the whole county, dividing it into two parts, of nearly equal size. Its course is first north-westerly, and then north north-easterly. Owaga, a branch of the Alleghany river, crosses the south-westerly corner of the county from Pennsylvania, and enters Cattaraugus. Olean flows south-westerly into the latter county. The Canisteo, a branch of Tioga river, flows into Steuben on the east. Canasaraga creek, which heads in Alleghany, takes a north-easterly course into Livingston.

Livingston is bounded on the north by Monroe, on the east by Ontario, on the south by Steuben and Alleghany, and on the west by Genesee. It is twenty-six miles in length from south to north, and twenty in breadth from west to east, containing about four hundred square miles, exclusive of the waters of Canesus and Hemlock lakes, equal to two hundred and fifty-six thousand acres of land. The improved lands in 1825, were one hundred and thirteen thousand five hundred and seventy-six acres, some over two-fifths of the whole. The number of inhabitants in the same year was twenty-three thousand eight hundred and sixty. The average population for every square mile was nearly sixty.

Livingston comprehends the country on both sides of the Gene-

see river. The western and middle parts are either level, or gently rolling, and decline towards the river, while the eastern and southern are diversified with hills, that generally have easy acclivities.

The extensive and beautiful vale of Genesee, containing the celebrated flats, is mostly in this county. In some places it is four miles broad. The lands of this county are rich, and equal those of the most favoured counties in the state.

Genesee enters the south-westerly part of this county, and runs north north-easterly through it into Monroe. Its course, without taking into the estimate its windings, is about twenty-three miles. It flows through the flats in beautiful curves and reaches, and is navigable for boats. Canasaraga creek holds a north-westerly course from the south-easterly corner of the county, till it has joined the Genesee. The outlet of Canesus also falls into the same river. The outlets of Hemlock and Honeyoe lakes water the north-easterly part of this county. Hemlock and Canesus lakes are in this county.

Livingston was erected Feburary 23rd, 1821, and is subdivided into fourteen towns. Its villages are Geneseo, Caledonia, Avon, &c.

Monroe is bounded northwardly by lake Ontario, eastwardly by Wayne and Ontario, southwardly by Ontario and Livingston, and westwardly by Genesee and Orleans. It is thirty-five miles in length from east to west, and twenty-four in breadth from north to south, and contains five hundred and seventy square miles, or three hundred and sixty-four thousand eight hundred acres of land. The outlines of this county, without any apparent necessity, are very irregular. In truth, this may be remarked in relation to many of our counties.

The western, middle and northern parts of this county are level, or nearly so, being part of the great western plain. The south-eastern is very moderately uneven, and may be termed champaign. The country rises from the shore of lake Ontario by easy gradations. The ridge road, or former beach of the lake, stretches

through the county from east to west The soil of this county is good.

Monroe is washed on the north by lake Ontario, and indented by Irondequot and Braddock's bays. Genesee river crosses it from Livingston, dividing into two nearly equal parts. Salmon and Sandy creeks, two small streams falling into Braddock's bay, water the north-westerly part; Allen's creek, and the outlet of Hemlock lake, the southerly; and Irondequot, the easterly parts.

Monroe was erected February 23rd, 1821, and is now subdivided into sixteen towns. Its villages are Rochester, Carthage, Clarkson, Brockville, Pittsford, Penfield, and Falltown. Brockville, Rochester, and Pittsford are on the Cânal. Rochester is the largest village in the state, its population exceeding eleven thousand. The Erie canal runs from east to west through this county.

In 1825, Monroe contained thirty-nine thousand one hundred and eight inhabitants. Its present population is nearly fifty thousand; the increase of Rochester alone, having been almost seven thousand since the census of 1825. The improved lands in 1825, were one hundred and thirty-six thousand seven hundred and twelve acres, being nearly three-eighths of the whole. The population amounted to about seventy for every square mile.

Ontario is bounded on the north by Monroe and Wayne, on the east by Seneca and Yates, on the south by the latter county and Steuben, and on the west by Livingston and Monroe. It is about thirty-five miles in extent from east to west, and about twenty-nine from north to south, containing about seven hundred and twenty-five square miles, equal to four hundred and sixty-four thousand acres of land. In 1825, the lands under improvement were one hundred and eighty-three thousand three hundred and fifty-one acres, some under three-tenths of the whole. The population the same year was thirty-nine thousand four hundred and twenty-two, which gives an average of about fifty-four to every square mile.

Ontario is subdivided into eighteen towns. Its villages of most note are Geneva and Canandaigua. Both are beautifully situated, and are large and thriving. This county was erected January 27th, 1789.

The eastern and northern parts of Ontario, are mostly champaign: the southern and western are in general, diversified with hills of easy ascent, plains and valleys. The lands are commonly very productive. There are no barrens, or wastes.

Canandaigua outlet is the largest stream in the county. Its course is northerly and north-easterly into Wayne. The next is Mud creek, which heads in the south-western corner of the county. Its direction is northerly and north-easterly till it enters Wayne. It waters the western parts of the county. Flint creek rises near the inlet of Crooked lake, and pursues a northerly course till its exit in Canandaigua outlet. Canandaigua, Honeyoe and Caneadea lakes, are in this county. Canandaigua lake, and its outlet, water the middle part of the county. The Erie canal runs a short distance in this county.

Wayne is bounded on the east by Cayuga, on the south by Seneca and Ontario, on the west by Monroe, and on the north by lake Ontario. It is thirty-two miles in length from north to south. Its area comprises five hundred and twelve square miles, equal to three hundred and twenty-seven thousand six hundred acres of land: ninety-one thousand four hundred and forty-three acres were improved in 1825. The number of inhabitants, were then twenty-six thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, being fifty-two to every square mile. Wayne was erected April 11, 1822, and is now subdivided into eleven towns. The villages of Lyons, Palmyra and Sodus are the most considerable. The two former are on the canal, and the latter on great Sodus bay.

The middle and southerly parts of Wayne are, with few exceptions, champaign. The northern is a plain that descends to lake Ontario. The ancient beach of lake Ontario extends eastwardly through this plain. The lands are good.

Lake Ontario washes the whole extent of the county on the north. Great Sodus, Little Sodus, Port bays, and other bays indent the coast.

Canandaigua outlet, or river, soon after it enters this county, is joined by Mud creek at Lyons. From thence its course is south-eastwardly in the main, but very crooked to Cayuga county. Mud

creek has an easterly course, after its entrance from Ontario, of sixteen miles, in a straight line. Its bed is very tortuous. The valleys along Canandaigua river and Mud creek have considerable breadth: that along the former expands into a vale. The lands in both, are good.

SENECA has Wayne on the north, Cayuga outlet and lake on the east, Tompkins on the south, and Seneca lake and Ontario county on the west. It is thirty-two miles in length from north to south, and on an average eleven in breadth from east to west, and contains about three hundred and fifty-two square miles, equal to two hundred and twenty-five thousand acres of land. In 1825, the lands under improvement amounted to ninety-four thousand one hundred and forty-five acres, rather over two-fifths. The population in the same year was twenty thousand one hundred and sixty-nine, some over fifty-seven to every square mile.

Seneca was erected the 24th of March, 1804, and is subdivided into six towns. Seneca Falls, Waterloo and Ovid are the principal villages.

The surface of this county is either level or moderately uneven. The level part is along Seneca outlet, and thence northerly. The soils of this county, generally speaking, are not excelled by those of any other county in the state.

Seneca outlet, which runs across the county in an east north-easterly direction, is the only streams of any note. Seneca and Cayuga lakes wash this county on the west and east, northerly to their outlets. The canal winds across the north-eastern corner of the county.

YATES is bounded on the east by Seneca lake, on the south by Steuben, and on the west and north by Ontario. It has an average length of twenty miles from east to west, and an average breadth from north to south of twelve, and contains about two hundred and thirty square miles, equal to one hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred acres of land, exclusive of the waters of Seneca and Crooked lakes.

Yates was erected January 5th, 1823. Its population in 1825,

was thirteen thousand two hundred and fourteen, and its improved land sixty thousand two hundred and fifty-five acres, being about five-elevenths.

Yates has a diversified surface, consisting of hills, plains and valleys. The soil is ordinarily good.

Seneca lake washes this county on the east, while Crooked lake with its bifurcations, dips into it from the south. The outlet of the latter lake, which is five or six miles in length, is entirely in the county. Its population is rather over fifty-seven for every square mile.

TOMPKINS is bounded northerly by Seneca and Cayuga, easterly by Cortland and Tioga, southerly by the latter county, and westerly by Steuben, from which it is separated by part of Seneca lake. Its length from east to west is thirty-five miles; and its breadth from north to south sixteen. Its average breadth is not over twelve miles. It contains four hundred and twenty square miles, which are equal to two hundred and sixty-eight thousand eight hundred acres of land. In 1825, its population was thirty-two thousand nine hundred and eighty. Its cleared land amounted in the same year to one hundred and thirty-five thousand three hundred and forty-two acres, a little over one-half. The average population for every square mile is seventy-nine. Tompkins is subdivided into ten towns. Ithaca is the most considerable village. It was erected April 7th, 1817.

This county is considerably broken with hills, especially around the head of Cayuga lake, and thence westwardly to Seneca lake. The hills in general admit of cultivation, being covered with a good depth of soil. The vale of Ithaca, containing the village of that name, is on Cayuga inlet, or stream, falling into Cayuga lake. It is two miles broad, where it opens into the lake. It is a beautiful tract of rich land, almost environed by high hills, which rise from it like the steps of an amphitheatre. The lands of this county are, for the most part good.

Tompkins is well watered. Cayuga lake penetrates the central part some distance: Seneca lake washes it on the west; Fall creek and some others water the eastern and middle parts.

Cayuga has Oswego, Onondaga and Cortland on the east, Tompkins on the south, on the west Cayuga lake and outlet (which separate it from Seneca,) and Wayne, and on the north by lake Ontario. Its length from south to north is fifty-eight miles, and its greatest breadth from west to east twenty-three, containing about six hundred square miles, equal to three hundred and eighty-four thousand acres of land. The improved land in 1825, comprehended one hundred and eighty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-five acres, very nearly one-half of the whole. The population in the same year was forty-two thousand seven hundred and forty-three, being about seventy-one to every square mile.

Cayuga was erected March 8th, 1799, and contains fifteen towns. Its largest villages are Auburn, Weeds Port, Bucksville, Montezuma and Aurora. Auburn, on the Owasco is a populous flourishing village, containing about four hundred houses. Weeds Port and Bucksville are on the Erie Canal, and Montezuma on a branch of the same canal.

Cayuga displays some diversity of aspect and soil. The northern, middle and western parts are either level, or champaign, and the southern and south-eastern hilly. Those parts lying eastwardly of the lake, descend towards it; while those adjoining Seneca river and lake Ontario, slope severally towards them. The land, with few exceptions, may be pronounced fertile. Cayuga is one of the best counties in the state, and is capable of supporting a dense population.

Cayuga lake washes a part of this county on the west. Owasco is entirely in the county. A part of Cross lake is also in it. Owasco outlet passes through Auburn, in its way to Seneca river. Its course, which is north-westerly, is sixteen or seventeen miles. Salmon creek, which enters Cyauga lake, is in the south-west part of the county. Seneca river winds across the county in sullen silence. It is a dull stream. Lake Ontario washes the north end of the county, and penetrates it by Little Sodus bay, one of its inlets. The Erie canal meanders through it.

Onondaga is thirty-seven miles in length from north to south, and twenty-nine in breadth from east to west, and contains eight

hundred and twenty-six square miles, equal to five hundred and twenty-eight thousand six hundred and forty acres of land, of which one hundred and ninety-three thousand five hundred and eighty-two acres were under cultivation in 1825. The population in the same year was forty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-five, a little over fifty-eight for every square mile.

Onondaga is bounded on the east by Madison, on the south by Cortland, on the south-west and west by Cayuga, and on the north by Oswego. It was erected March 5th,1794, and is subdivided into twelve towns. The villages of Manlius, Jamesville, Onondaga Hollow, Onondaga Hill, Marcellus, Skaneateles, Onondaga Castle, Pompey, Syracuse, Salina, Liverpool, Geddesburg, Camillus, Elbridge, Jordan's Port, &c. are in this county. The six first are on the south Seneca turnpike; the seventh is south of the turnpike, and is an Indian village: Syracuse, Geddesburg and Jordan's Port, are on the Erie canal: Salina is on the Oswego canal, and Liverpool on the east shore of Onondaga lake.

Onondaga is divided into two parts; the hilly, and level. The former comprehends the southern and south-eastern parts. The latter, the northern. The soils usually are very productive. Seneca river winds across the north-western part of the county, and meets Oneida river, at Three River point. Oneida river, in its course divides Oswego from Onondaga. Skaneateles outlet and lake water the westerly and south-westerly parts of the county. Nine Mile, Onondaga, Butternut and Limestone creeks, water the residue of the county. The three first flow in deep valleys. The Erie canal winds through the flat part of this county.

Madison is bounded north-eastwardly by Oneida, eastwardly by the same county and part of Otsego, southwardly by Chenango, westwardly by Chenango and Onondaga, and northwardly by part of Oneida and Oneida lake, which separate it from part of the latter county and Oswego. Its area, after making allowances for the irregularities in its exteriors, contains six hundred and twelve square miles, equal to three hundred and ninety-one thousand six hundred and eighty acres of land, of which one hundred and seventy-six thousand one hundred and ninety-four acres were improved in 1825.

The population the same year was thirty-five thousand six hundred and forty-four, a little over fifty-eight to every square mile. The improved land falls some under seven-fifteenths.

This county, except along Oneida lake, and between it and the Erie canal and along the canal, is hilly. The soil is commonly good. There is little, or no waste land ; the hills usually have smooth outlines and easy ascents.

The north-west branch of the Chenango heads in this county, and passes off into the county of Chenango, Its course is south-easterly. The north-easterly branch runs through the south-easterly part of the county. Otselic creek takes a south-westerly direction into Chenango. A branch of the Tioughnioga originates in the south-westerly part of the county and makes its way into Cortland. Chitteningo originates in Lincklean's lake, and descends in a general north-westerly direction into Oneida lake. It receives Canasaraga. After its union with Limestone creek from Onondaga, it forms the line between the latter and Madison counties to its mouth.

Oneida creek rises also in this county, and flows easterly to Oneida county, where it changes its direction to north north-westerly and constitutes the boundary on this side between Madison and Oneida. Oneida lake is partly in this county. The Erie canal crosses the county from west to east.

Madison was erected March 21st, 1806, and is now subdivided into thirteen towns. Its villages of note are Cazenovia, Eaton, Morrisville, Hamilton, Peterborough, Chitteningo, Canasaraga, and Canestota. The latter is on the Canal. Chitteningo is on a branch canal.

The counties of Madison, Onondaga, Cortland, Cayuga, Tompkins, Seneca, Wayne, Ontario, Yates Livingston, Monroe, Genesee, Orleans, Niagara, and Erie may be termed the granaries of the state. Only thirty-eight years have elapsed since actual settlements were made,and these counties now, in populousness and wealth, surpass most of the old counties. The march of improvement has been immense, and may be attributed in a great measure to the richness of the lands, and the enterprise of the farmers.

Oswego is bounded northwardly by Jefferson, eastwardly by

Lewis and Oneida, southwardly by part of Oneida lake and the county of Onondaga, westwardly by Cayuga, and north-westwardly by lake Ontario. It is thirty-seven miles in length from east to west, and thirty from north to south. These are the extremes. Its area does not differ much from nine hundred and eighty square miles, or six hundred and twenty-four thousand two hundred acres of land. In 1825, its population was seventeen thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, being a fraction over eighteen for every square mile. The improved land in the same year comprised fifty-two thousand three hundred and ninety-two acres, almost one-twelfth of the whole.

Oswego was erected March 11th, 1816, and is now subdivided into fourteen towns. Its villages, which are considerable, are Oswego, on the shore of lake Ontario; Oswego Falls, on Oswego river; and Pulaski, on Salmon river. Oswego, during the two last years, has had a rapid growth, and is now one of the most thriving villages in the western country.

This county is divided into the plain, champaign, and hilly tracts. The plains are along lakes Ontario and Oneida, and the latter's outlet, and Oswego river, almost to the Falls: the champaign embraces the intermediate space, and the south-westerly part: the hills occupy the north-easterly part.

Oswego river has its course across the south-western part of the county. The northern part is watered by Big Salmon river, which runs across it from Lewis. The interior is mostly watered by Little Salmon river. Oneida lake and outlet are on the south, and water those parts adjoining them.

The lands in Oswego are generally middling, occasionally fertile.

Forts Oswego and Brewington were in this county. The former was at the mouth of Oswego river: it was made a military station in 1722. The latter was at the outlet of Oneida lake. Oswego was taken in 1756 by the French, under the Marquis de Montcalm, and demolished. It was subsequently rebuilt. At present it is in ruins.

Jefferson is bounded westwardly by lake Ontario, north-west-

wardly by the St. Lawrence, north-eastwardly by the county of St. Lawrence, south-eastwardly and eastwardly by Lewis, and southwardly by Oswego. Its greatest length from north-east to south-west is forty-eight miles, and its greatest breadth in an opposite direction, is thirty-six. Its outlines have considerable irregularity, especially on the side of lake Ontario, which indents it with bays and inlets. It contains not far from one thousand one hundred and fifty square miles, or seven hundred and thirty-six thousand acres of land. In 1825 its inhabitants amounted to forty-one thousand six hundred and fifty, rather over thirty-six for every square mile. There were one hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and forty-one acres of improved land in the same year, being nearly the one-fourth part of the whole.

Jefferson was erected March 28th, 1805; and is now subdivided into nineteen towns. Watertown, Sacket's Harbour, Adams, Brownville and Carthage are the principal villages. Sacket's Harbour is on Hungry Bay, and is a port of entry. Watertown on Black river, is a manufacturing village.

On the coast of lake Ontario, and along the St. Lawrence, are levels; in the interior, champaigns; and in the south-eastern parts hills. The lands universally decline towards the lake and St. Lawrence. The lands of this county are with very few exceptions, good.

Black river severs Jefferson into two parts; the larger, being northerly of that river. Its course after entering on the side of Lewis, is first north-westerly and then westerly. It opens into Hungry Bay, about four miles north-east of Sacket's Harbour. About forty miles of the course of Indian river is in this county. It waters the south-easterly part, making several large sweeps. After its entrance from Lewis on the south-east, it changes its direction to the north-east, afterwards to the south-west, then to the north-east, and lastly to the east, when it enters St. Lawrence county. In one place it approaches within six miles of Black river. Perch creek and Chaumont river fall into Chaumont bay. They are small streams. Big Sandy creek holds a south-westerly course across the southern part of the county. Its source is in Lewis. The St. Lawrence washes the north-west side of the county, and

lake Ontario the west. Hungry, Chaumont and Henderson bays are considerable sheets of water.

Lewis is bounded on the north-east by the county of St. Lawrence, on the east by the county of Herkimer, on the south-east and south by the county of Oneida, on the west by parts of Oswego and Jefferson, and on the north-west by the latter county. Its greatest length from north to south is fifty-one miles, and its greatest breadth from east to west, forty. After making deductions for the difference in its length and breadth, it will be found to contain about one thousand two hundred and forty square miles, equal to seven hundred and ninety-three thousand six hundred acres of land ; of which only forty-seven thousand were improved in 1825, not quite the one-sixteenth. The number of inhabitants the same year was eleven thousand six hundred and sixty-nine, being rather over nine to every square mile. Lewis is subdivided into nine towns, and contains the villages of Martinsburg and Lowville.

This county is divided into the hilly and mountainous tracts. The former is south south-westwardly of Black river, and contains the settlements, if we except some very small parts. The lands in this tract are usually cultivable, and are often good. In the mountainous tract there are, comparatively speaking no good lands, and not much that is suitable for cultivation. Several attempts have been made to settle it; but hitherto they have proved abortive. Those parts of Herkimer, adjoining this tract, we are assured, are equally poor, if not more so, and are absolutely without inhabitants.

Black river enters this county from the north-easterly corner of Oneida, and pursues a north north-westerly course to Jefferson, dividing it nearly midway. The improved parts are traversed by Deer creek, and some other streams that descend into Black river. The mountainous tract is watered by Moose, Beaver, and some other streams falling into the latter river. Indian river makes its way into the Oswegatchie through Jefferson.

St. Lawrence, which is the largest county in the state in respect of territory, is bounded on the east by Franklin, on the

south by Hamilton and Herkimer, on the south-west by Lewis and Jefferson and on the north-west by the St. Lawrence river, which divides it from Canada. Its greatest length from east to west is sixty-six miles, and its greatest breadth from north to south sixty-four. Its area however, in square miles is only about two thousand six hundred and fifty. Its form is not unlike the end of a barn. It contains one million six hundred and ninety-six thousand acres of land, of which only one hundred and four thousand one hundred and thirty-five acres were cleared in 1825, not quite the one-sixteenth part. Its population the same year was twenty seven thousand five hundred and ninety-five, being nearly ten and a half to every square mile.

St. Lawrence was erected March 3rd, 1802, and is subdivided into eighteen towns. It contains the villages of Ogdensburgh, Canton, Russia, Potsdam, Madrid, Lewisville, &c.

This county is divided into the champaign, hilly and mountainous tracts. The first, comprises the country along the river St. Lawrence; the second, the interior; and the third, the residue. The soils of this county are various, presenting every kind, from the richest to the poorest. Those of the champaign tract, however, are usually good. The St. Lawrence washes the north-westerly side of the county throughout its whole extent, being about seventy miles. The Oswegatchie, a very considerable river, with its branches, waters the westerly and south-westerly parts of the county; while the middle and easterly parts are watered by the Grass Racket, and St. Regis, with their branches.

Fort Oswegatchie, the La Gallette of the French, was in this county, at the mouth of Oswegatchie river.

Franklin is bounded on the north by the province of Lower Canada, on the east by Clinton and Essex on the south by part of the latter county and Hamilton, and on the west by the St. Lawrence. The eastern and southern parts are mountainous, and the remaining champaign and hilly. Franklin is watered by Salmon, St. Regis, Chateaugue, Chazy and Saranack rivers, and some other streams. The lands in the north-western part of the county, are respectable in quality, and sometimes even fertile.

Franklin is fifty-four miles in length from north to south, and thirty

in breadth from east to west, and contains one thousand seven hundredand ten square miles, equal to one million and ninety-four thousand four hundred acres of land. Of these only thirty thousand and eighty-eight were improved in 1825. not quite the one-thirty-sixth part. The population the same year was seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, being between four and five to the square mile.

Franklin was erected March 11th, 1808. It is subdivided into nine towns.

Clinton is bounded on the north by the province of Lower Canada, on the east by lake Champlain, on the south by Essex, and on the west by Franklin. It is forty five miles in length from north to south, and thirty-six in breadth from east to west, and contains one thousand one hundred and seventy square miles, equal to seven hundred and forty-eight thousand eight hundred acres of land. The improved land in 1825, amounted to sixty two thousand three hundred and fifty-one acres, being almost the one-twelfth. The population at the same time, was fourteen thousand four hundred and eighty-six, some thing over twelve for every square mile.

Clinton was erected March 7th, 1788. It is subdivided into six towns. Plattsburg is the largest village.

Clinton is divided into three tracts ; the level, the hilly, and mountainous. The first is on the east, and adjoins lake Champlain the second, is in the middle ; and the third in the west. The land in the first is generally good. The Great Chazy risesin the county of Franklin, and runs north north-easterly almost to the Canada border, when it turns and flows south-easterly, and soon after falls into lake Champlain. The Little Chazy, which has its course entirely in the county, enters the lake, a short way to the south. The two Chazies water most of the northerly half of the county. The Saranack enters on the side of Franklin, and holds a north-easterly course to lake Champlain. The Sable forms a part of the boundary between Clinton and Essex. These, with some other small streams, water the southerly half of the county, Lake Champlain washes the county on the east for nearly forty miles. It is considerably indented with bays.

Essex lies southerly of Clinton, and is bounded on the north by that county, on the east by lake Champlain, on the south by Warren, and on the west by Hamilton and Franklin. It is fifty-five miles in length from north to south, and forty-six in breadth from east to west, and contains one thousand eight hundred and fifty square miles, equal to one million one hundred and seventy-six thousand acres of land. It was erected March 1st, 1799, and is subdivided into fifteen towns. Its population in 1825, was fifteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-three, beign nearly nine for every square mile. The improved lands the same year were seventy-seven thousand five hundred and ninety acres, rather over the one-fifteenth.

Essex is traversed by the Clinton, Sable, and some other mountain ranges, and may be termed mountainous. Between the mountains there are several valleys of considerable extent. The lands of this county are in general, poor and barren. In the valley, and along lake Champlain, we occasionally find some small tracts that are fertile. This county abounds with iron ore, which will hereafter be a great source of wealth.

Essex is well watered by lakes, rivers, and creeks. The Saranack, Sable and Boquet, with their branches, water the northerly parts of the county. The southern is watered by the Hudson and Schroon, and their branches, and some streams running into lake Champlain. On the east lake Champlain laves it for fifty-five miles.

Crown Point, and Ticonderoga are in the county, on the shore of lake Champlain. The former is in the south-east corner, and the latter about fifteen miles to the north: they were built by the French. The British and Colonial army, amounting to 16,000 men, were defeated in 1758 at the lines of Ticonderoga, in attempting to storm them. In 1760, the French abandoned it, and the British took possession. The Americans captured it in 1775, and in 1777 evacuated it on the approach of Gen. Burgoyne. They however, retook it the same year.

STATISTICAL TABLES,

WITH EXPLANATORY REMARKS, &c. &c.

NO. I.

A Statistical Table of the several Counties in the State; their Superfices in square miles and acres; the quantity of improved Land; the Population, and the average number of Inhabitants to the square mile.

1. The Maritime Counties.

Counties.	Square Miles.	Acres of Land	No. of acres of improved Land.	Population.	No. to every square mile.
Suffolk,	800	512,000	167,886	23,695	30
Queens,	355	227,000	144,893	20,331	57
Kings,	81	52,160	24,427	14,679	180
Richmond,	77	49,280	22,178	5,932	77
New-York,	22	14,080	5,785	166,086	
Total,	1335	854,520	365,384	230,723	173

The improved land in these counties comprise a litte over three-sevenths of the whole. Taking the maritime together they contain considerable poor land, and some barrens.

2. The Counties within the basin of the Hudson, or very nearly so.

Counties.	Square Miles.	Acres of Land.	No. of acres of improved Land.	Population.	No. to every square mile.
Westchester,	500	320,000	239,458	33,131	66
Putnam,	250	160,000	79,921	11,866	47
Dutchess,	850	544,000	368.471	46,698	55
Columbia,	580	371,200	264,164	37,970	65
Renesselaer,	600	384,000	234,469	44,065	65
Washington,	920	538,800	252,795	39,280	42
Rockland,	150	96,000	45,127	8,016	44
Orange,	600	384,000	243,611	41,732	70
Ulster,	950	608,000	160,451	32,015	32
Greene,	600	384,000	142,007	26,229	43
Albany,	484	309,760	191,500	42,821	88
Saratoga,	900	576,000	253,953	36,295	47
Warren,	1000	640,000	52,347	10,906	11
Hamilton,	1500	960,000	3,170	1,251	1
Schenectady,	260	164,000	67,762	12,876	50
Montgomery,	1088	696,300	240,000	39,651	36
Herkimer,	1340	852,480	183,198	33,040	25
Oneida,	1120	716,800	224,919	57,847	52
Schoharie,	616	394,240	143,460	25,926	40
Total,	14,308	9,157,120	3,390,884	581,615	41

3. The Counties within the basin of the Delaware, or very nearly so.

Counties.	Square Miles.	Acres of Land.	No. of acres of improved Land.	Population.	No. to every square mile.
Sullivan,	900	576,000	41,677	10,373	11
Delaware,	1500	960,000	157,842	29,565	19
Total,	2400	1,536,000	199,519	39,938	16

4. Counties within the basin of the Susquehanna, or nearly so.

Counties,	Square Miles.	Acres of Land.	No. of acres of improved Land.	Population.	No. to every square mile.
Otsego,	850	544,000	268,979	47,898	56
Chenango,	840	537,600	178,580	34,215	41
Broome,	840	537,600	60,406	13,893	17
Cortland,	456	291,840	84,956	20,271	44
Tioga,	1040	665,600	83,452	19,951	19
Steuben,	1520	972,800	112,110	29,245	19
Total,	5546	3,549,440	788,483	165,473	30

5. Counties mostly in the valley of the Alleghany.

Counties.	Square Miles.	Acres of Land.	No. of acres of improved land.	Population.	No. to every square mile.
Catteraugus,	1400	896,000	22,498	8,643	6
Chautauque,	820	524,800	67,785	20,640	25
Total,	2220	1,420800	90,283	29,283	13

6. Counties in the basin of the St. Lawrence, or nearly so.

Counties.	Square Miles.	Acres of Land.	No of acres of improved Land.	Population.	No. to every square mile.
Erie,	720	460,800	75,626	24,316	34
Niagara,	500	320,000	42,052	14,069	28
Orleans,	350	234,000	51,368	14,460	41
Genesee,	980	627,200	170,440	40,905	42
Alleghany,	1200	768,000	61,706	18,164	15
Livingston,	400	256,000	113,576	23,860	60
Monroe,	570	364,800	136,712	39,108	70
Ontario,	725	464,000	183,351	37,422	54
Wayne,	512	327,600	91,443	26,761	52
Seneca,	352	225,000	94,145	20,169	57
Yates,	230	147,200	66,255	13,214	57
Tompkins,	420	268,800	135,343	32,908	79
Cayuga,	600	384,000	187,495	42,743	71
Onondaga,	826	528,640	193,582	48,435	58
Madison,	612	391,680	176,194	35,646	58
Oswego,	980	627,200	52,392	17,875	18
Jefferson,	1150	736,000	173,147	41,650	36
Lewis,	1240	793,600	47,574	11,669	9
St. Lawrence,	2650	1696,000	104,135	27,595	10 1-2
Franklin,	1710	1094;400	30,088	7,978	4 to 5
Clinton,	1170	748,800	62,351	14,486	12
Essex,	1850	1176,000	77,590	15,993	19
Total,	19747	12,638,080	2,337,568	599,022	29

The items, comprising the number of acres of improved land in the several counties, and the number of inhabitants, are taken from a printed document of the census of 1825, furnished me in 1827, by Mr. Campbell, Deputy Secretary of the State.

REMARKS.

The superfices in square miles of the counties in the basin of the Hudson, are fourteen thousand three hundred and eight. Some deductions, however, must be made for small portions of Washington, Warren and Hamilton, which are in the basin of the St. Lawrence, and about one-half of Herkimer and three-sevenths of Oneida, that are in the same basin, which will reduce the number to about twelve thousand nine hundred.

Taking all the counties within the basin of the Hudson, without any deduction, and it will be found that only about five-fourteenths of the lands are cleared and improved, and of these not the one hundredth part is cultivated with the care that lands are in France and England.

The average population to every square mile is nearly forty-one.

If we reject the counties of Warren and Hamilton, and that part of the county of Herkimer lying beyond Tug Hill, comprehending about three thousand and two hundred square miles, and which are comparatively speaking deserts, their entire population not exceeding twelve thousand five hundred and sixty, there will be about fifty-one inhabitants to every square mile; a number not amounting to one-third of what the country is capable of supporting, were it sufficiently cleared and highly cultivated. The average population of Ireland is about 230 to the square mile; that of England considerably over two hundred; and that of France about one hundred and fifty-five. But then these countries have been settled time immemorial. Here population and improvements are recent. It is only two hundred and fourteen years since the first settlements were made in this state, and these were very feeble. Then not only this state, but all the states of the confederation were covered with woods, and without civilized inhabitants, if we except that at Jamestown in Virginia, which was very small.

The superfices of the counties in the basin of the Delaware, comprise two thousand and four hundred square miles. Of these but little over one-eighth is cleared. The average number of inhabitants for every square mile but little exeeds sixteen and a half. These counties have been settled since one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, there not being before that time over one hundred families in them. They, however, can never support a very dense population, particularly Sullivan, inasmuch as it is very mountainous.

The counties in the basin of the Susquehanna contain about five thousand five hundred and fifty-five square miles, and a population of one hundred and sixty-five thousand four hundred and seventy-three inhabitants. The cleared lands run but little over three-fourteenths of the whole. The average population for every square mile is thirty Some of these counties, such as Otsego, Chenango and Cortland, have from forty-one to fifty-six inhabitants to the square mile. These counties, except Otsego, have been settled since 1784. The latter county, however, anterior to that period, did not probably contain over fifty families. The counties of Otsego, Chenango and Cortland, from the goodness of the lands, are capable of subsisting a thick population. There are also portions of Broome, Tioga, and Steuben, which will be populous.

That part of the Susquehanna basin, situated in this state, contains more square miles than we have stated. Some of these are in Delaware, Herkimer, and others in Oneida, Madison, Onondaga and Tompkins, and amount to six or seven hundred.

That part of the valley of the Alleghany, which is in this state, contains about two thousand square miles. We have, however, included in it about two hundred and twenty square miles, which are in the St. Lawrence basin. The improved lands are rather under the one-sixteenth part of the whole. The inhabitants amount, on an average, to only thirteen to the square mile.

The lands of Chautauque are good, and will sustain a dense population, but it is otherwise with those of Cattaraugus, generally speaking.

The counties situated in the basin of the St. Lawrence contain nineteen thousand seven hundred and forty-seven square miles, and five hundred and sixty nine thousand and twenty-two inhabitants. The improved lands amounted to some over the one fifth of the whole. The number of inhabitants for every square mile is twenty-nine. The entire basin, that is, the part in this state, contains upwards of twenty-one thousand square miles. The excess consists of small portions of Chautauque, Madison, Cattaraugus, Oneida, Warren, Hamilton, Washington, and about one half of Herkimer. The counties of Genesee, Monroe, Livingston, Ontario, Wayne, Seneca, Yates, Tompkins, Cayuga, Onondaga and Madison, comprising six thousand two hundred and twenty-seven square miles, considerably under one-third of the superfices, contain three hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-one inhabitants, or nearly two-thirds of the population, the average for every square mile in these counties being about fifty-eight.

The settlements of this state, in 1784, were confined mostly to Long island, Staten island, and Manhattan island, and the banks and vicinity of the Hudson northwardly to Fort Edward, and those of the Mohawk westwardly within seven miles of Utica. The settlements at Cherry Valley, Schoharie, Minisink, Wood creek, *&c.* were very inconsiderable.

The improved lands then did not exceed one million of acres, now they probably amount to nearly eight; in 1825, they amounted to seven millions one hundred and sixty thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven. We think we shall not err much in putting them down, at this time, at one quarter. The clearings we have already shown have induced great changes in the climate; subsequent ones will induce corresponding changes. Of the lands still covered with woods, at least one half may be cleared without detriment to the inhabitants. It may be laid down as a general proposition, that the qualities of lands are improved in goodness by cultivation. This proposition has been strikingly exemplified in the counties of Dutchess, Columbia, Rensselaer, Albany, Saratoga, Montgomery, Otsego, &c.

No. 2.

A condensed view of No. 1.

	Square miles.	Acres of Land.	Acres of cleared Land.	Population.
Maritime Counties,	1,335	854,520	365,384	230,723
Counties in the basin of the Hudson.	14,308	9,157,120	3,390,884	581,615
Counties in the basin of the Delaware.	2,400	1,536,000	199,591	39,932
Counties in the basin of the Susquehanna.	5,546	3,537,926	788,483	165,473
Counties in the valley of the Alleghany.	2,220	1,420,800	90,283	29,283
Counties in the basin of the St. Lawrence.	19,747	12,638,080	2,337,568	569,023
Total,	45,556	29,144,446	7,172,193	1,616,48

REMARKS.

The state contains forty-five thousand five hundred and thirty-six square miles; equal to twenty-nine millions one hundred and forty-two thousand and forty acres of land, of which only seven millions one hundred and sixty thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven acres were cleared and improved in 1825, at the time the census was taken, not quite one fourth part. The average population is a little over thirty-five souls to every square mile. The principal seats of the population are in the maritime counties, along both sides of the Hudson, and the lines of the Champlain and Erie canals, and about the head waters of the Susquehanna.

The whole number of men, in 1825, subject to military duty, was one hundred and eighty thousand six hundred and forty-five. All able bodied men, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, are liable to bear arms. The number of persons qualified to vote for state, county and town officers, was two hundred and ninety-six thousand one hundred and thirty-two. The aliens amounted to forty thousand four hundred and thirty, and the people of color to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and one.

The militia at present amount to nearly two hundred thousand men. These are organized in divisions, brigades, regiments and companies and are suitably armed.

There are arsenals, belonging to the state, established at New-York Albany, Plattsburg, Malone, Russel, Watertown, Onondaga, Canandaigua, Batavia, Rome and Elizabethtown. These contain abundance of warlike implements, such as brass and iron ordinance, &c. muskets, bayonets, pistols, swords &c. &c. with the entire apparatus of war.

The military posts belonging to the United States in this state are Governor's Island, New-York Harbor, West Point, Plattsburgh, Sackett's Harbor, Niagara and Greenbush Cantonment. The two latter are not occupied at present. Besides these there are two large naval stations, the one at Brooklyn, and the other at Sackett's Harbor. The United States have also two arsenals; the one at New-York, and the other at Gibbonsville in the county of Albany opposite Troy.

No. 3.

Progressive Population.

Counties, in	1771	1790	1800	1810	1820	1825
Suffolk,	13,128	16,440	19,494	21,113	24,272	23,695
Queens,	10,980	16,014	16,893	19,336	21,519	20,331
Kings,	3,623	4,495	5,740	8,303	11,187	14,679
Richmond,	2,847	3,835	4,563	5,347	6,135	5,932
New-York,	21,163	33,131	60,489	96,372	123,706	166,086
Westchester,	21,745	24,003	27,423	30,272	32,633	33,131
Putnam, (included in Dutchess,)					11,268	11,866
Dutchess,	22,404	45,266	47,775	51,412	46,615	46,698
Columbia, (in Albany,)		27,732	35,332	32,390	38,330	37,970
Rensselaer, (in Albany,)			30,442	36,388	40,158	44,065
Washington, (in Albany,)		14,042	35,574	44,390	38,831	39,280
Rockland, (in Orange,)			6,353	7,763	8,837	8,016
Orange,	10,092	18,492	29,335	34,347	41,213	41,732
Ulster,	13,950	29,397	24,855	26,576	30,934	32,015
Greene, (included in Albany,)			15,870	19,541	22,996	26,229
Albany,	42,706	75,736	34,043	34,661	38,116	42,821
Saratoga, included in Albany)			24,483	33,147	36,052	36,295
Warren,					9,453	10,906
Schenectady, (included in Albany,)				10,201	13,081	12,876

Schoharie, (in Albany,)			9,808	18,945	23,154	22,596
Montgomery, (in Albany till 1771,)			24,483	33,147	36,052	39,651
Hamilton, (do. till 1816,)					1,251	1,251
Herkimer, (in Montgom. till 1791,)			14,479	22,060	31,017	33,040
Oneida, (in Herkimer till 1798)			22,047	33,828	50,997	57,847
Sullivan, (included in Orange)				6,108	8,900	10,373
Delaware,			10,228	20,303	26,587	29,565
Otsego,			21,636	38,687	44,856	47,898
Chenango,			15,666	21,702	31,215	34,215
Cortland,				7,894	16,037	20,271
Broome,				8,130	14,343	13,893
Tioga,			6,879	7,399	16,971	19,951
Steuben,			1,788	7,243	21,989	29,245
Cattaraugus,				458	4,090	8,643
Chautauque,				2,381	12,568	20,640
Erie, (included in Niagara,)					15,668	24,316
Niagara,				6,132	7,322	14,069
Orleans, (included in Genesee till 1824,)						14,060
Genesee,				12,588	40,200	40,905
Alleghany,				1,942	9,330	18,164
Livingston, (erected from parts of Ontario & Genesee)					18,444	23,863
Monroe, (do. do. do. do.)					26,855	39,108
Ontario,		1,075	15,218	42,026	61,185	37,422
Wayne, (erected from parts of Ontario and Seneca,)						26,761
Seneca,				16,609	23,619	20,169
Yates, (erected from part of Ontario,)						13,214
Tompkins,					20,681	32,908
Cayuga.			15,871	29,840	38,897	42,743
Onondaga,			7,406	26,078	41,461	48,435
Madison,				25,144	32,208	35,646
Oswego,					12,374	17,875
Jefferson,				15,040	32,952	41,650
Lewis,				6,438	9,227	11,669
St. Lawrence,				7,894	16,037	27,595
Franklin,				2,719	4,413	7,978
Clinton,				8,002	12,070	14,486
Essex,				9,488	12.811	15,993
Total,	163,338	340,120	586,441	959,049	1,372,812	1,616,458

The counties in 1771 were Suffolk, Queens, Kings, Richmond, New-York, Westchester, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster and Albany.

The apparent decrease of the population in some of the counties at different times, was occasioned by the erection of new counties or the setting off and annexing parts of one county to another. In a table of this kind we have deemed it unnecessary to enter into particulars as to the erection and modification of the several counties the object being merely to give a view of the progress of the population between 1771 and 1825.

No. 4.

The whole number of Neat Cattle, Horses and Sheep.

COUNTIES.	Cattle.	Horses.	Sheep.
Suffolk,	23,666	8,636	48,446
Queens,	15,373	5,854	28,451
Kings,	4,395	2,291	424
Richmond,	3,014	862	568
New-York,	3,569	5,634	175
Westchester,	30,988	6,566	38,042
Putnam,	12,901	2,298	17,548
Dutchess,	46,765	13,155	174,010
Columbia,	35,429	11,778	115,221
Rensellaer,	33,852	10,888	94,079
Washington,	49,188	10,744	113,008
Rockland,	6,942	2,290	8,053
Orange,	50,490	9,408	76,739
Ulster.	31,893	7,525	58,492
Greene,	23,743	5,700	47,561
Albany,	26,848	10,092	66,939
Saratoga,	33,782	9,311	96,997
Warren,	10,055	1,639	24,482
Schenectady,	11,350	3,791	21,918
Schoharie,	26,482	8,450	61,832
Montgomery and Hamilton,	43,009	15,778	96,374
Herkimer,	40,435	11,528	93,845
Oneida,	61,066	13,327	145,988
Sullivan,	11,417	1,620	19,363
Delaware,	41,555	6,342	165,810
Otsego,	56,569	13,011	159,660

Chenango,	44,245	7,349	125,693
Cortland,	23,435	4,035	60,005
Broome,	15,303	2,089	29,837
Tioga,	22,722	3,136	41,118
Steuben,	33,187	5,647	65,971
Cattaraugus,	10,199	725	10,277
Chautauque,	25,516	2,778	46,264
Erie,	27,137	3,811	50,592
Niagara,	11,210	1,841	19,823
Orleans,	12,500	1,725	24,817
Genesee,	48,755	7,145	107,424
Alleghany,	21,337	2,245	36,356
Livingston,	28,762	5,209	74,872
Monroe,	33,972	6,866	86,257
Ontario,	42,349	9,424	111,955
Wayne,	25,556	4,904	57,472
Seneca,	19,774	5,717	48,419
Yates,	13,920	3,048	31,905
Tompkins,	34,146	7,063	79,146
Cayuga,	48,544	10,234	122,332
Onondaga,	47,810	9,871	118,441
Madison,	42,074	8,476	139,498
Oswego,	17,258	2,417	35,798
Jefferson,	44,730	8,072	96,408
Lewis,	13,780	3,066	34,467
St. Lawrence,	28,962	4,474	44,777
Franklin,	7,499	1,261	9,868
Clinton,	16,076	2,864	32,541
Essex,	17,585	2,918	40,239
Total.	1,513,421	349,628	3,496,539

NO. 5.

The number of yards of Fulled Cloth, Flannel and other Woollen Cloth not fulled and Linnen, Cotton or other thin Cloth manufactured in the year 1824.

COUNTIES.	Fulled Cloth.	Flannel, &c.	Linnen, Cotton &c.
Suffolk,	33.849	30,086	102,132
Queens,	26,676	18,539	53,884
Kings,	427	237	12,626
Richmond,		612	5,912
New-York.	8,067	562	1,164,230
Westchester,	36,003	35,632	97,849
Putnam,	18,631	23,791	57,366
Dutchess,	92,198	90,739	207,296
Columbia,	299,890	82,371	446,089
Rensselaer,	84,227	98,516	220,121
Washington,	84,076	121,313	197,766
Rockland,	6,834	8,240	34,245
Orange,	57,862	55,966	32,883
Ulster,	52,931	49,121	173,393
Greene,	80,305	53,043	99,890
Albany,	48,436	59,569	119,660
Saratoga,	76,875	954,29	166,212
Warren,	22,064	25,146	41,636
Montgomery and Hamilton,	81,726	87,083	201,908
Schenectady,	35,241	18,192	330,592
Schoharie,	49,436	55,746	133,359
Herkimer,	73,667	93,854	182,363
Oneida,	93,958	137,634	247,345
Sullivan,	14,235	18,580	52,312
Delaware,	65,131	99,573	163,046
Otsego,	102,766	154,936	318,294
Chenango,	85,175	114,128	219,121
Cortland,	49,972	61,286	139,549
Broome,	25,614	31,196	76,164
Tioga,	35,371	44,586	108,949
Steuben,	51,809	81,007	117,850
Cattaraugus,	10,902	18,289	44,837
Chautauque,	38,573	62,065	111,416
Erie,	37,818	67,492	93,336
Niagara,	15,047	24,727	20,397
Orleans,	22,719	29,004	36,837
Genesee,	89,205	134,866	147,962

Alleghany,	28,113	46,364	75,938
Livingston,	51,772	75,491	,027
Monroe,	74,428	106,538	110,899
Ontario,	88,946	133,802	153,933
Wayne,	46,124	70,922	96,271
Seneca,	35,843	46,016	71,174
Yates,	26,942	38,026	50,933
Tompkins,	62,596	81,629	148,757
Cayuga,	87,326	132,181	187,749
Onondaga,	89,834	123,822	177,581
Madison,	74,849	109,742	196,157
Oswego,	29,227	38,834	76,025
Jefferson,	76,814	101,122	129,239
Lewis,	23,708	28,616	44,513
St. Lawrence,	39,692	58,188	74,340
Franklin,	8,941	13,307	26,162
Clinton,	32,198	32,740	36,059
Essex,	32‘774	44,099	49,029
Total,	2,918,233	2,468,601	8,079,992

In 1825 there were 2,264 grist mills ; 5195 saw mills ; 121 oil mills ; 1222 fulling mills ; and 5184 carding machines.

NO. 6.

A Table of the number of Cotton and Woollen Factories, Iron works and Trip Hammers in each County in the state, agreeable to the return made with the census.

COUNTIES.	Cotton Factories.	Cotton and Woollen Factories.	Woollen Factories.	Iron werks.	Trip hammers.
Suffolk,	1	4	0	0	0
Queens,	0	1	2	0	0
Kings,	0	0	0	1	0
Richmond,	0	0	0	7	0
New-York	1	0	2	3	1
Westchester,	3	2	6	0	0
Putnam,	0	0	1	6	1
Dutchess,	5	0	19	1	9
Columbia,	9	5	19	4	1
Renssaer,	5	0	9	1	8
Washington,	3	0	9	5	4
Rockland,	3	0	1	3	2
Orange,	3	1	5	6	1
Ulster,	1	0	7	0	3

Greene,	0	1	2	0	3
Albany,	1	2	0	0	2
Saratoga,	0	1	8	0	10
Warren,	1	0	4	2	1
Montgomery and Hamilton,	0	0	6	2	7
Schenectady,	3	2	0	3	0
Schoharie,	0	0	1	1	2
Herkimer,	2	0	2	2	10
Oneida;	10	4	8	10	7
Sullivan,	0	0	0	0	1
Delaware,	0	0	1	1	3
Otsego,	7	1	7	3	7
Chenango,	1	1	12	1	4
Courtland,	0	0	3	0	2
Broome,	0	0	0	0	1
Tioga,	2	0	1	0	0
Steuben,	1	0	2	0	0
Cattaraugus,	0	0	0	0	0
Chautauqua,	0	0	2	2	2
Erie,	0	0	1	1	1
Niagara,	0	0	2	2	1
Orleans,	0	0	0	1	3
Genesee	0	0	1	3	2
Alleghany,	0	0	0	0	0
Livingston,	2	0	4	3	3
Monroe,	1	0	4	5	6
Ontario,	1	1	7	4	2
Wayne,	2	0	0	8	1
Seneca,	0	0	0	0	1
Yates,	0	0	0	0	2
Tompkins,	0	1	4	2	4
Cayuga,	1	0	2	2	7
Onondaga,	1	0	5	2	7
Madison,	2	1	12	4	8
Oswego,	0	0	0	1	1
Jefferson,	3	3	2	18	7
Lewis,	0	1	0	2	0
St. Lawrence,	0	0	1	6	3
Franklin,	0	0	0	3	1
Clinton,	0	0	1	15	5
Essex,	0	0	3	28	9
Total,	76	28	189	170	164

BANKS.

Bank of New York, incorporated in	1791	$1,000,000
Manhattan Company	1799	2,050,000
Merchants' Bank	1803	1,490,000
Merchanics' Bank	1810	2,000,000
Union Bank	1811	1,000,000
Bank of America	1812	2,000,000
Phœnix Bank	1812	500,000
City Bank of New York	1812	1,250,000
Bank for Savings	1819	
North River Bank	1821	500,000
Chemical Bank		500,000
Fulton Bank		500,000
Delaware and Hudson Canal Company		1,500,000
Dry Dock Company		75,000
Tradesmen's Bank		480,000
United States Branch Bank		2,500,000
Bank of Long Island at Brooklyn		300,000
Bank of Albany, at Albany	1792	360,000
New York State Bank, at do.	1803	680,000
Mechanics and Farmerss' Bank at do.	1811	630,000
Commercial Bank at do.		
Savings Bank at do.	1820	
Bank of Columbia at Hudson	1793	200,000
Bank of Hudson at do. (broke)	1808	325,000
Farmers' Bank at Troy	1801	345,000
Bank of Troy, at do.	1811	550,000
An office of discount and deposit do. at Waterford		
Bank of Newburg, at Newberg	1811	450,000
An office of discount and deposite do. at Ithaca in Tompkins.		
Middle District Bank at Poughkeepsie do.		550,000
An office of discount and deposit do. Kingston.		
Bank of Lansingburg, at do.	1813	240,000
Catskill Bank, at Catskill	1813	400,000
Bank of Greene, at do.	1818	90,000
Bank of Orange County, at Goshen	1814	400,000
Mohawk Bank at Schenatady	1807	205,000
Bank of Utica, at Utica	1812	1.000,000

Savings Bank at Utica		
An office of discount and deposit at Canandaigua		
Ontario Bank at Canandaigua -	1813	500,000
Branch of the same at Utica		
Bank of Geneva, at Geneva -	1817	400,000
Bank of Auburn, at Auburn, do. -	1817	400,000
Bank of Washington and Warren, at Sandy Hill	do.	400,000
Bank of Plattsburg, at Plattsburg -	1817	300,000
(This bank we believe is closed.)		
Bank of Niagara, at Buffalo, -	1816	400,000
(This bank has failed.)		
Jefferson County Bank, at Adams -	1816	400,000
Central Bank of Cherry Valley -	1818	200,000
Bank of Chenango, at Norwich -	1818	200,000

See laws of New York, ed. 1813. &c.

INSURANCE COMPANIES.

These we shall include under No. 7. Of these there are 24 in the state ; 16 of which are in the City of New York. The capital stock is about eight millions of dollars.

Under the same number we shall include Turnpike and Bridge Companies. Of the former there are four hundred and thirteen companies, with about eighteen million, five hundred thousand dollars stock : and of the latter ninety-two with about one million three hundred thousand dollars worth of stock. The extent of the several roads is about ten thousand four hundred miles, of which probably three quarters are completed. Sole corporations, and bridges owned by individuals are not included. The grants made by the legislature, at different times, for the construction of roads, amount to between six and seven hundred thousand dollars.

A Statement of the Commerce of the State of New York, commencing on the first day of October, 1826, and ending on the 30th day of September, 1827.

1. Value of Merchandise Imported.

In New York Vessels.	In Foreign Vessels.	Total.
$36,600,914	$2,118,730	$38,719,644

2. Value of Merchandise Exported.

Domestic Produce.

In New York Vessels.	In Foreign Vessels.	Total.
$12,320,508	$1,600,119	$13,920,627

Foreign Produce.

In New York Vessels.	In Foreign Vessels.	Total.
$8,908,535	$1,004,975	$9,913,510

Total value of domestic and foreign produce twenty-three millions eight hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-seven dollars.

Balance against New York, fourteen millions eight hundred and eighty-five thousand four hundred and seventy-seven dollars. This balance is made up by profits on exports and on the commodities vended to our citizens.

The Tonnage and Shipping of the State of New York on the last day of December 1826, were as follows:

	Registered Tonnage Tons.	Licensed Ton. Tons.	Total Ton Tons.
City of New York	158,451	157,837	316,288
Sag Harbor	2,314	4,702	7,016
On Lake Champlain	1,191		1,191
On Lake Ontario			
Cape Vincent		44	44
Sacket's Harbor	617	958	1,576
Oswego	46	381	428
Genesee	742	1,309	2,052
On Lake Erie			
Buffalo	210	1,900	2,110
	163,571	167,131	330,702

From the above it will be seen that the total amount of Tonnage belonging to this state, at the time above specified, was three hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and two tons. The total amount of tonnage owned at the same time by the United States was one million five hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and ninety: and stood thus: the other states, one million two hundred and three thousand four hundred and eighty eight tons, and New York three hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and two. The ton-

nage of New York considerably exceeds the one fifth of the whole. The total amount of the imports of the United States, within the periods first mentioned was seventy-nine millions four hundred and eighty-four thousand and sixty-eight dollars: of this amount thirty-eighty millions seven hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred and forty-four dollars were imported at the city of New-York, being nearly the one half. The amount of American produce exported within the same period was fifty-eight millions nine hundred and twenty-one thousand six hundred and ninety-one dollars: and of this amount New York exported thirteen millions nine hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and forty-three. The amount of foreign produce exported also within the same period from the United States was twenty-three millions four hundred and three thousand one hundred and thirty-six dollars; and of this amouut New York exported nine millions nine hundred and thirteen thousand five hundred and ten dollars. The entire amount of the exports of all the States was then eighty-two millions three hundred and twenty-four thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven dollars.

See the Report made April 15, 1228 by Joseph Nourse, Register of the Treasury of the United States.

In 1807, the amount of exports from New York to foreign countries was twenty-six millions three hundred and fifty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-three dollars: in 1810, seventeen millions two hundred and two thousand three hundred and thirty dollars: in 1820, thirteen millions six hundred and ninety-one thousand two hundred and forty-four dollars.

The tonnage of this state in 1803 was one hundred and forty-nine thousand one hundred and fifty-eight tons; in 1810, it was two hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and fifty-seven; in 1816, three hundred and nine thousand two hundred and ninety, besides that of the Lakes. (See the Topographical and Statistical Manual of New York, published by Stirling Goodenow in 1822.)

The tonnage of the boats employed on the Erie and Champlain Canals is probably about fifty thousand tons.

We have no means of ascertaining the amount of tonnage employed between Albany and other towns on the Hudson, and the City of New York in the transportation of produce merchandize, passengers, &c. It must, however, be very considerable.

The commerce of the state has increased astonishingly since the construction of the Erie and Champlain Canals; and this notwithstanding the depressed prices of the products of our soil in foreign markets, occasioned by the repose in Europe. The Ohio canal, when made, will increase it still more.

We shall give a sketch of the revenue raised by the United States in this state at six different periods: to wit, in 1792, one million one hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and nine dollars, being a little under the one fourth of the whole paid in the United States; in 1800, it was considerably under the one third; in 1800, it rather exceeded one third; in 1815, it was fourteen millions four hundred and ninety-one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine dollars, or nearly five-twelfths; In 1820, about seven millions five hundred thousand; in 1826, 27, nearly one half. The great amount of revenue collected in New York in 1815, was owing to the vast quantities of goods imported immediately after the peace with Great Britain.

Upwards of one third of this revenue is derived indirectly from the commerce of other states. And as to the exports, we think it will not be a departure from the truth to say, that more than the one third is derived from our sister states. The unrivalled situation of the City of New York gives it a decided preference over all the other cities of the United States. Its fine spacious harbor is seldom obstructed with ice; and whenever this occurs, it is momentary. It is quite otherwise with Philadelphia, standing on the Delaware, which is usually closed every winter for a month or two. Again Philadelphia is about one hundred and fifty miles from the ocean; and New York only about sixteen or seventeen. Delaware Bay and River are of difficult navigation: the passage from Sandy Hood is easy. Several tides and different winds are necessary to ascend the former: a single tide and wind answer to ascend the latter. New York is the natural emporium of the United States from its very position.

In 1821, there were seven hundred and twenty-two post offices in the State. The number now probably exceeds one thousand.

The following tables exhibit the Tonnage and Commerce of the United States from October 1st, 1826 to September 30th 1827.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the Registered and Enrolled and Licensed Tonnage of the United States, from 1815 *to* 1826, *inclusive.*

YEARS.	Registered Tonnage.	Enrol. & Licen. Ton.	Tot. Ton.
		Tons and 95ths.	
1815	854,294 74	513,833 04	1,368,127 78
1816	800,759 63	571,458 85	1,372,218 53
1817	809,724 70	590,186 66	1,399,911 41
1818	606,088 64	609,095 51	1,225,184 20
1819	612,930 44	647,821 17	1,260,751 61
1820	619,047 53	661,118 66	1,280,166 24
1821	619,096 40	679,062 30	1,298,958 70
1822	628,150 41	696,548 71	1,324,699 17
1823	639,920 76	696,644 87	1,336,565 63
1824	669,972 60	719,190 37	1,389,163 02
1825	700,787 08	722,323 69	1,423,111 77
1826	737,978 15	796,212 68	1,534,190 83

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Register's Office, 15*th April*, 1828.
JOSEPH NOURSE, *Register.*

THE FIRST EMBER, 1827.

EXPORTED.		ERICAN AND FOR. TONNAGE.		
FOREIGN PRODUC				
an	In Foreign vessels.	red.	Departing.	
26	673	76,130	97,556	1
18	. .	12,544	6,849	2
	. .	.	. . .	3
62	69,372	177,976	134,007	4
10	. .	27,080	21,350	5
75	. .	20,038	18,078	6
65	1,004,975	1,362	273,343	7
	. .	78,712	1,594	8
63	92,574	697	72,850	9
	. .	62,455	317	10
15	86,100	11,220	71,621	11
	. .	30,874	17,834	12
11	. .	31,196	61,678	13
77	374	64,038	39,847	14
57	40,703	30,280	93,455	15
91	. .	31,196	52,165	16
	. .	.	. . .	17
55	119,810	97,594	120,033	18
94	. .	17,475	16,769	19
	. .	. .	. . .	20
89	1,855	15,691	13,127	21
65	1,415,971	055,950	1,111,792	

ril 16, 1828.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMERCE OF EACH STATE AND TERRITORY, COMMENCING ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, 1826, *AND ENDING ON THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER,* 1827.

	STATES, &c.	VALUE OF MERCHANDISE IMPORTED.			VALUE OF MERCHANDISE EXPORTED.						Total value of domestic and for. produce.	QUANT. OF AMERICAN TONNAGE.		QUANT. OF FOREIGN TONNAGE.		TOTAL AMERICAN AND FOR. TONNAGE.		
					DOMESTIC PRODUCE.			FOREIGN PRODUCE.										
		In American vessels.	In Foreign vessels.	Total.	In American vessels.	In Foreign vessels.	Total.	In American vessels.	In Foreign vessels.	Total.		Entered.	Departing.	Entered.	Departing.	Entered.	Departing.	
1	Maine	1,324,699	11,691	1,333,390	986,564	44,471	1,033,035	36,426	673	37,099	1,070,134	72,733	94,660	3,397	2,896	76,130	97,556	1
2	New Hampshire	302,211	- -	302,211	155,580	- -	155,580	21,818	. .	21,818	177,398	12,544	6,849	- -	. .	12,544	6,849	2
3	Vermont	143,771	307	144,078	1,259,441	- -	1,259,441	. .	. .	. .	1,259,441	- -	- -	- -	. .	. .	. .	3
4	Massachusetts	13,246,733	123,831	13,370,564	3,783,847	36,502	3,820,349	6,531,662	69,372	6,601,034	10,424,383	173,178	130,056	4,798	3,951	177,976	134,007	4
5	Rhode Island	1,211,828	- -	1,211,828	596,177	- -	596,177	208,010	. .	208,010	804,187	27,080	21,359	- -	. .	27,080	21,350	5
6	Connecticut	630,004	- -	630,004	567,100	- -	567,100	23,175	. .	23,175	590,275	20,038	18,078	- -	. .	20,038	18,078	6
7	New-York	36,600,914	2,118,730	38,719,644	12,320,508	1,600,119	13,920,627	8,908,535	1,004,975	9,913,510	23,834,137	261,301	239,968	49,242	33,375	1,362	273,343	7
8	New-Jersey	331,664	6,833	338,497	25,627	- -	25,627	. .	. .	. .	25,627	725	933	637	571	78,712	1,591	8
9	Pennsylvania	11,056,587	156,348	11,212,935	3,214,235	177,061	3,391,296	4,091,963	92,574	4,184,537	7,575,833	74,705	68,753	4,007	4,097	697	72,850	9
10	Delaware	6,993	- -	6,993	9,406	- -	9,466	. .	. .	. .	9,406	697	317	- -	. .	62,455	317	10
11	Maryland	4,302,701	103,007	4,405,708	3,291,395	163,296	3,457,691	972,615	86,100	1,058,715	4,516,406	57,940	67,430	4,515	4,119	11,220	71,621	11
12	District of Columbia	315,623	12,060	327,623	1,159,579	22,563	1,182,142	. .	. .	. .	1,182,142	10,735	17,349	485	485	30,874	17,834	12
13	Virginia	378,807	52,958	431,765	4,231,969	414,768	4,646,737	11,211	. .	11,201	4,657,938	23,488	53,235	7,386	7,843	31,196	61,078	13
14	North Carolina	253,356	23,435	276,791	391,436	55,650	447,089	1,777	374	2,151	449,237	28,652	36,683	2,544	3,164	61,038	39,847	14
15	South Carolina	1,072,510	361,596	1,434,107	5,961,805	2,227,991	8,189,496	92,357	40,703	123,065	8,322,561	28,665	68,854	25,418	4,350	30,280	93,155	15
16	Georgia	203,926	108,683	312,609	3,416,928	813,936	4,260,864	691	. .	691	4,261,555	21,496	41,519	8,874	10,646	31,196	52,165	16
17	Ohio	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	- -	- -	- -	. .	. .	. .	17
18	Louisiana	3,241,797	1,289,848	4,531,645	7,639,254	2,966,578	10,602,832	1,206,355	119,810	1,129,165	11,728,997	66,657	89,793	30,937	30,240	97,594	120,033	18
19	Alabama	166,106	35,803	201,909	1,010,279	290,491	1,330,770	45,591	. .	45,594	1,376,364	14,312	13,696	3,163	3,073	17,475	16,769	19
20	Michigan Territory	2,518	1,256	3,774	1,320	- -	1,320	. .	. .	. .	1,320	- -	- -	. .	. .	. .	. .	20
21	Florida Territory	145,748	112,246	257,994	20,929	3,186	24,115	31,689	1,855	33,371	55,486	13,505	11,010	2,117	2,117	15,691	13,127	21
	Total Dollars,	74,965,499	4,518,572	79,484,068	50,105,377	8,816,312	58,921,691	21,987,165	1,415,971	23,403,136	82,324,827	918,361	980,542	137,589	131,250	1,055,950	1,111,792	

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, REGISTER'S OFFICE, *April* 16, 1828.

CHAPTER II.

The fourth chapter consists of extracts taken from Smith's History of New-York. It comprises the substantial parts of his geographical and statistical accounts of the Province of New-York in 1756. The sentences in almost every instance, are copied verbatim, with this difference, that we have abridged them in general. We have supposed that they would be read with interest. The reader, by comparing my geographical and statstical views of the state with his, will see at once the astonishing march in improvements, population, wealth and commerce, made during the last seventy-two yerrs. In 1756, our population was only one hundred thousand: in 1825, it was one million six hundred and sixteen thousand four hundred and fifty-eight. The improvements made, and the wealth accumulated since then, have been greater than the increase of the population.

" The province of New York, at present, contains Long Island, Staten Island, and the lands on the east side of Hudson's river, to the bounds of Connecticut. From the division line, between that colony and the Massachusett's Bay, northward to the line between us and the French, we claim an extent to Connecticut river. On the west side of Hudson's river, from the sea to the latitude of forty-one degrees, lies New Jersey. The line of partition between that province and this, from that latitude to the other station on Delaware is unsettled. From thence, wheresoever it may be fixed, we claim all the lands on the east side of the Delaware, to the north line of Pennsylvania; and all the territory on both sides of the Mohawk's river, and westward to the isthmus at Niagara. In a word, all the country belonging to the crown of Great Britain, not already granted; for we are to consider New York to stand in relation to her sister colonies, to borrow a lawphrase, as a residuary legatee. Hence we have, from the beginning, been exposed to controversies about limits. The New-Jersey claim includes several hundred thousand acres, and has not a little impeded the settlement

of the colony. The dispute with the Massachusett's Bay is still more important, and for several years past occasioned very considerable commotions. The New Hampshire pretensions have as yet exposed us to no great trouble. But when all these claims are settled, a new controversy will probably commence with the proprietaries of Pennsylvania.

This province was, in 1693, divided by an act of Assembly into twelve counties, which I shall describe in their order.

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

The city of New York, at first, included only the island called, by the Indians, Manhattan's (Manning's) island, the two Barn islands, and the three Oyster islands were in the county. But the limits of the city have since been augmented by charter. The island is very narrow, not a mile wide, at a medium, and about fourteen miles in length. The south-west point projects into a fine spacious bay, nine miles long and about four miles in breadth ; at the very confluence of the waters of Hudson's river, and the strait between Long Island and the northern shore. The Narrows, at the south end of the bay is scarce two miles wide, and opens the ocean to full view. The passage, up to New York, from Sandy Hook, a point that extends farthest into the sea, is safe, and not above twenty five miles in length. The common navigation is between the east, and west banks, in two or three and twenty feet water. But it is said, that an eighty gun ship may be brought up through a narrow winding unfrequented channel, between the north end of the east bank and Coney Island.

The city has, in reality no natural basin or harbour. The ships lie off in the road, on the east side of the town, which is docked out, and better built than the west side, because the freshets in Hudson's river fill it in some winters with ice.

The city of New York, as I have elsewhere had occasion to mention, consists of about two thousand five hundred buildings. It is a mile in length, and not above half that in breadth. Such is its figure, its centre of business, and the situation of the houses, that the mean cartage, from one part to another, does not exceed above a quarter of a mile, than which nothing can be more advantageous to a trading city.

It is thought to be as healthy a spot as any in the world. The east and south parts, in general, are low, but the rest is situated on a dry, elevated soil. The streets are irregular.

No part, of America, is supplied with markets abounding with greater plenty, and variety.

This city is the metropolis and grand mart of the province, and by its commodious situation commands also the trade of the western part of Connecticut, and that of New-Jersey. No season prevents our ships from launching out into the ocean. During the greatest severity of winter, an equal, unrestrained activity runs through all ranks, orders, and employments.

The inhabitants of New-York are a mixed people, but mostly descended from the original Dutch planters. There are still two churches, in which religious worship, is performed in that language. There are besides the Dutch, two Episcopal churches. Trinity church was built in 1696, and afterwards enlarged in 1737. St. George's chapel was erected in 1752. Besides these there is a Presbyterian church which was erected in 1747; a French church; two German Lutheran churches; a Quaker Meeting house; and an Anabaptist Meeting house.

The city Hall, in which the assembly meets, contains court-rooms, and rooms for prisoners.

The library consists of a thousand volumes, which were bequeathed to the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts," by Dr. Millington.

Besides the City Hall, there is an Alms-house, or place of correction, and an Exchange.

The city is divided into seven wards, and is under the government of a mayor. recorder, seven aldermen, and as many assistants. The mayor, a sheriff, and coroner, are annually appointed by the governor.

The standing militia of the island consists of about twenty-three hundred men.* The north-eastern part of New York island is in-

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*The whole number of the inhabitants, exclusive of females, above sixty, according to a list returned to the governor in the spring of 1756, amounted to 10,468 whites, and 2,275 negroes, but that account is erroneous. It is most probable that there are in the city 15,000 souls.

habited principally by Dutch ſarmers, who have a small village there called Harlaem, pleasantly situated on a flat.

WESTCHESTER.

This county is large, and includes all the lands beyond the island of Manhattan's, along the sound to the Connecticut line, which is its eastern boundary. It extends northward to the middle of the Highlands, and westward to Hudson's river. A great part of this county is contained in the manors of Phillipsburg, Pelham, Fordham and Courtlandt: the last of which has the privilege of sending a representative to the general assembly. The county is tolerably settled. The lands are in general rough, but fertile, and therefore the ſarmers run principally on grazing. It has several towns, East-Chester, Westchester, New-Rochelle, Rye, Bedford, and North-Castle. The inhabitants are, either English, or Dutch, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Quakers, and French Protestants. The town of West-Chester, is an incorporated borough, enjoying a mayor's court, and the right of being represented by a member in assembly.

DUTCHESS,

This county adjoins to Westchester, which bounds it on the south; the Connecticut line on the east; Hudson's river on the west, and the county of Albany on the north. The south part of this county is mountainous and fit only for iron works: the rest contains a great quantity of good upland, well watered. The only villages in it are Poughkeepsie and the Fish-Kill; though they scarce deserve the name. The inhabitants on the banks of the river are Dutch; but those more easterly Englishmen; and for the most part emigrants from Long-Island, and Connecticut. The growth of this county has been very sudden, and commenced but a few years ago. Within the memory of persons now living it did not contain above twelve families; and according to the late returns of the militia, it will furnish at present, above two thousand five hundred fighting men.

ALBANY.

This county extends, from the south bounds of the manor of Livingston on the east side, and Ulster on the west side of Hudson's river: on the north its limits are not yet ascertained. It contains a vast quantity of fine, low land. Its principal commodities are wheat, peas, and pine boards.

The city of Albany, which is near one hundred and fifty miles from New-York, is situated on the west side of the river. There our governors usually treat with the Indians dependent upon the British crown. The houses are built of brick, in the Dutch taste, and are in number about three hundred and fifty. There are two churches in it: that of the Episcopalians, and that of the Dutch Reformed: both are of stone. Besides these there is the city Hall. The fort is a square stone building, with four bastions, situated on an eminence which overlooks the town, but is itself commanded by higher ground. The greatest part of the city is fortified only by palisadoes, and in some places there are small cannon planted in block houses. Albany was incorporated by Col. Dongan, in 1686, and is under the government of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and as many assistants.

Sixteen or eighteen miles north-west from Albany lies Schenectady on the banks of the Mohawk's river, which falls into Hudson's river twelve miles to the north of Albany. This village is compact and regular, built principally of brick on a rich flat of low land, surrounded with hills. It has a large Dutch church, with a steeple and town clock, near the centre. The winding of the river through the town, and the fields (which are often overflowed in the spring) forms about harvest a most beautiful prospect. The lands in the vale of Schenectady are so fertile, that they are commonly sold at forty-five pounds an acre. Though the farmers use no kind of manure, they till the fields every year, and they always produce full crops of wheat or peas. The town has the privilege of sending a member to the assembly.

From this village our Indian traders set out in boats for Oswego. The Mohawk's river, from hence to Fort Hunter, abounds with

rifts, and shoals, which in the spring give but little obstruction to the navigation. From thence to its head, or rather to the portage into the Wood creek, the conveyance is easy and the current less rapid. The banks of this river are in general low, and the soil exceedingly good. Our settlements on the north side extend to Burnet's field, a flat inhabited by Germans which produces wheat, and peas in surprising plenty.

On the south side, except a few Scotch and Irish in Cherry Valley, at the head of the Susquehanna, we have but few farms west of the three German towns on Schoharie, a small creek which empties itself into the Mohawk's river, about twenty miles west of Schenectady. The fur trade at Oswego is one of the principal advantages of this county.

The principal settlements to the northward of Albany are, Connestigiune, eastward of Schenectady, on the Mohawk's river which a little lower down tumbles down a precipice of about seventy feet high, called the Cahoes. The surprise, which one might imagine, would naturally be excited by the view of so great a cataract, is much diminished by the height of the banks of the river; besides the fall is as uniform as a mill-dam, being uninterrupted by the projection of rocks.

At Scaghtahook, on the east side of the north branch of Hudson's river, there are a few farms; but many more several miles to the eastward, and about twenty-five miles from Albany, in the patent of Hoosick.

About forty miles to the northward of Albany on the west side of the river, lies Saratoga, a fine tract of low land.

In the southern part of the county of Albany, on both sides of Hudson's river the settlements are very scattered; except within twelve miles of the city, when the banks become low and accessible. The islands here, which are many, contain perhaps the finest soil in the world.

There are two manors in the county, Rensselaerwyck and Livingston, which have each the privilege of sending a member to the assembly. At Ancram, in the manor of Livingston, is an iron furnace, about fourteen miles from the river. Its best and most improved lands lie at Tachanic, in the eastern parts, which have of late been

much disturbed by the inroads of the Massachusetts Bay, on this and the patents of Westenhook and Claverack.

The winters in this county are commonly severe; and Hudson's river freezes so hard, a hundred miles to the southward of Albany, as to bear sleds loaded with great burdens.

ULSTER.

This county joins to that of Albany on the west side of Hudson's river. Its northern extent is fixed at Sawyer's rill: the rivers Delaware and Hudson bound it west and east, and a west line from the mouth of Murderer's creek is its southern limit.

The inhabitants are Dutch, French, English and Scotch Irish, but the first and the last are most numerous. The most considerable town is Kingston, situated about two miles from Hudson's river. It contains about one hundred and fifty houses, mostly of stone; is regularly laid out on a dry, level spot, and has a large stone church and court house near the centre. It is thought to resemble Schenectady, but far exceeds it in elevation: on the north side of the town the Esopus Kill winds through rich and beautiful lawns. The people of Ulster, have long enjoyed an undisturbed tranquillity, and are some of the most opulent farmers in the whole colony.

This county is most noted for fine flour, beer, and a good breed draught horses. At the commencement of the range of the Apalachian hills, about ten miles from Hudson's river, is an inexhaustible quarry of mill-stones, which far exceed those from Colen in Europe, formerly imported here and sold at eighty pounds a pair. The Marbletown mill-stones cost not a fourth part of that sum.

This, and the counties of Dutchess, and Orange, abound with limestone, and on the banks of Hudson's river are found great bodies of blue slate.

The principal villages, besides Kingston, are Marbletown, Hurley, Rochester, New Paltz, and the Wallkill, each of which is surrounded with fine tracts of low land. The militia of Ulster is about fifteen or sixteen hundred men, and a company of horse.

ORANGE

County is divided by a range of mountains, stretching westward from Hudson's river, called the Highlands. On the north side the lands are very broken but fertile, and inhabited by Scotch Irish, and English. Their villages are Goshen, Bethlehem, and Little Britain, all remarkable for producing, in general, the best butter made in the colony. The people on the south side of the mountains are all Dutch: and Orangetown, more commonly called by the Indian name, Tappan, is a small but very pleasant inland village, with a stone court-house and church. The militia consist of about thirteen hundred fighting men.

This county joins to the province of New Jersey on the south; and the non-settlement of the partition line has been the greatest obstruction to its growth.

There is a valuable tract, called the drowned lands, on the north side of the mountains, containing about forty or fifty thousand acres. The waters which descend from the surrounding hills being but slowly discharged by the river issuing out of it, cover these vast meadows every winter: and hence they become extremely fertile. The fires kindled up in the woods, by the deer hunters in autumn are communicated by the leaves to these meadows, before the waters rise above the channel of the river, and a dreadful, devouring conflagration overruns it, consuming the herbage for several days. The Wallkill river, which runs through this extensive, amphibious tract, if I may use the expression, is in the spring stored with eels of uncommon size and plenty, very useful to the farmers residing on its banks. The river is about two chains in breadth where it leaves the drowned lands, and has a considerable fall. The bottom of it is a broken rock, and I am informed by Mr. Clinton that the channel might, for less than two thousand pounds, be sufficiently deepened to draw off all the water from the meadows. Some parts, near the banks of the upland, have been already redeemed from the floods. These spots are very fertile, and produce English grass, hemp, and Indian corn.

The mountains, in the county of Orange, are clothed thick with timber, and abound with iron ore, ponds, and fine streams for iron-

works. Goshen is well supplied with white cedar, and in some parts of the woods, is found great plenty of black walnut.

Before I proceed to the description of the southern counties, I beg leave to say a few words concerning Hudson's river.

Its source has not as yet been discovered. We know in general that it is in the mountainous, uninhabited country, between lakes Ontario, and Champlain. In its course south-ward it approaches the Mohawk's river within a few miles at Saucondauga. From thence it runs north and north-easterly towards lake St. Sacrament, now called lake George, and is not above eight or ten miles distant from it. The course then to New-York is very uniform being in the main south twelve or fifteen degrees west.

The distance from Albany to lake George is computed at sixty-five miles. The river in that interval is navigable only for batteaux, and interrupted by rifts, which occasion two portages of half a mile each. There are three routs from Crown Point to Hudson's river; one through lake George, another through a branch of lake Champlain, bearing a southern course and terminating in a basin several miles east of lake George, called south bay. The third is by ascending Wood creek, a shallow stream about one hundred feet broad, which coming from the south-east empties itself into the south branch of lake Champlain.

The place where these routs meet, on the banks of Hudson's river is called the carrying place. Here fort Lyman, since called fort Edward, is built; but fort William Henry, a much stronger garrison, was erected at the south end of lake George.

The banks of Hudson's river are for the most part, rocky cliffs, especially on the western shore. The passage through the highlands is a wild romantic scene, for sixteen miles, through steep and lofty mountains. The tide flows a few miles above Albany. The navigation is safe, and performed in sloops of about forty or fifty tons burden, extremely well accommodated to the river. About sixty miles above the city of New York the water is fresh, and in wet seasons much lower. The river is stored with a variety of fish, which renders a summer's passage to Albany exceedingly diverting to such as are fond of angling.

The whole province is contained in two narrow oblongs, extending from the city of New York east and north, having water car-

riage from the extremity of the one, and from the distance of one hundred and sixty miles of the other.

RICHMOND

County consists of Staten Island, which lies nine miles southwestward from the city of New York. It is about eighteen miles long, and at a medium six or seven in breadth. On the south side is a considerable tract of good level land, but the island is in general rough, and the hills high. The inhabitants are principally Dutch and French.

Southward of the main coast of this, and the colony of Connecticut, lies Long Island, called by the Indians Matowacs. Its length is computed at one hundred and twenty miles, and the mean breadth twelve. The lands on the north and south side are good, but in the middle sandy and barren. The southern shore is fortified against invasion from the sea, by a beach inaccessable to ships, and rarely to be approached even by the smallest long boats on account of the surge which breaks upon it, with great fury, even when the winds are light. The coast, east and west, admits of regular soundings, far into the ocean; and as the lands are in general low for several hundred miles, nothing can be more advantageous to our ships than the highlands of Neversink, near the entrance at the Hook, which are scarce six miles in length, and often seen thirty leagues from sea. This island affords the finest roads in America. It is divided into three counties.

KINGS

County lies opposite to New-York on the north side of Long Island. The inhabitants are all Dutch, and, enjoying a good soil near our markets, are generally in easy circumstances. The county which is very small is settled in every part, and contains several pleasant villages: viz. Bushwick, Brooklyn, Bedford, Flatbush, Flatlands, New Utrecht and Gravesend.

QUEENS

County is more extensive, and equally well settled. The prin-

cipal towns are Jamaica, Hempstead, Flushing, Newtow nand Oyster bay. Hempstead plain is a large, level, dry champaign heath, about sixteen miles long and six or seven wide; a common land belonging to the towns of Oyster-bay and Hempstead. The inhabitants are Dutch and English.

SUFFOLK

Includes all the eastern part of Long Island, Shelter Island, Fisher's Island, Plumb Island, and the Isle of White. This large county has been long settled. Its principal towns are Huntington, Smithtown, Brookhaven, Southampton, Southold and Easthampton. The farmers for the most part are graziers, and living very remote from New York, a great part of their produce is carried to markets in Boston and Rhode Island. The Indians, who were formerly numerous on this island, are now become very inconsiderable. The whale fishery on the south side of the island has declined of late years through the scarcity of whales, and is now almost entirely neglected.

The Elizabeth islands, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Pemy Quid, which anciently formed Duke's, and the county of Cornwall, are now under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay.

An estimate of the comparative wealth of our counties may be formed from any of our assessments. In ten thousand pounds, part of a forty-five thousand pound tax laid in 1755, the proportions, settled by an act of assembly, stood thus:

New York,	£3,332	0	0
Albany,	1,060	0	0
Kings,	484	0	0
Queens,	1,000	0	0
Suffolk,	860	0	0
Richmond,	304	0	0
Westchester,	1,000	0	0
Ulster,	860	0	0
Dutchess,	800	0	0
Orange,	300	0	0
	£10,000	0	0

OF THE INHABITANTS.

This province is not so populous as some have imagined. Scarce a third part of it is under cultivation. The colony of Connecticut, which is vastly inferior to this in extent, contains, according to a late authentic inquiry, above one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, and has a militia of twenty-seven thousand men; but the militia of New York, according to the general estimate, does not exceed eighteen thousand men. The whole number of souls is computed at one hundred thousand.

Many have been the discouragements to the settlement of this colony. The French and Indian irruptions, to which we have always been exposed, have driven many families into New Jersey. The British acts, for the transportation of felons, have brought all the American colonies into discredit with the industrious and honest poor, both in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The bigotry and tyranny of some of our governors, together with the great extent of their grants, may also be considered among the discouragements against the full settlement of the province. Most of these gentlemen coming over with no other view than to raise their own fortunes, issued extravagant patents, charged with small quitrents, to such as were able to serve them in assembly: and these patentees, being generally men of estates, have rated their lands so exorbitantly high that very few poor persons could either purchase or lease them. Add to all these, the New England planters have always been disaffected to the Dutch; nor was there after the surrender any foreign accession from the Netherlands.

English is the most prevailing language among us, but not a little corrupted by the Dutch dialect, which is still so much used in some counties that the sheriffs find it difficult to obtain persons, sufficiently acquainted with the English tongue, to serve as jurors in the courts of law.

The manners of the people differ as well as their language. In Suffolk and Queen's county, the first settlers of which were either natives of England, or the immediate descendants of such as began the plantations in the eastern colonies, their customs are similar to those prevailing in the English counties from whence they originally

sprang. In the city of New York, through our intercourse with Europeans, we follow the London fashions, though by the time we adopt them they become disused in England. Our affluence during the late war introduced a degree of luxury in tables, dress, and furniture, with which we were before unacquainted; but still we are not so gay a people as our neighbors at Boston, and several of the southern colonies. The Dutch counties, in some measure, follow the example of New York, but still retain many modes peculiar to the Hollanders."

CHAPTER III.

CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES.

New-York stands on the southwest end of Manhattan island, in north latitude forty degrees forty-two minutes and forty-three seconds, and in east longitude, from th city of Washington, three degrees one minute and thirteen seconds. It has the Hudson on the west, New York bay on the south, and East river, a contraction of Long Island Sound, on the east. The bay is eight miles long, and from two to four broad; it communicates with the Atlantic ocean by the Narrows lying between Long Island and Staten Island, with Newark bay in New Jersey, by the Kills lying between Bergen Point and Staten Island, with the interior by the Hudson, and with Long Island Sound, and the ocean by East river. The bay embosoms several small islands: such as Governor's, Bedlow's, Ellis's, and Gibbet's islands.

The situation of New-York is beautiful, eligible, and commanding, and unrivalled by that of any other city in the United States. Beyond the Hudson the coast of New Jersey is seen stretching from north to south; on the other side of East river and the bay Long Island appears rising from the waters, while to the south and southwest Staten Island displays itself amid the waves.

This city, in consequence of its commanding position, and in consequence of the vast improvements made in the interior during the last fifty years, has had an astonishing growth, and is now become the largest, the most populous, the most commercial, and the most opulent of all the cities in the United States. Its wharves are crowded with vessels that daily arrive and depart. At present it commands the commerce of more than seven-eighths of the state, one-half of that of New Jersey, the greatest part of that of Vermont, and that of Connecticut, besides some part of that of Massachusetts, of western Pennsylvania, of Ohio, and all of that of the territory of Michigan. But it would be foreign to my present purpose to dilate on the advantages and prospects of this rising emporium.

New York is not laid out with much regularity, taste, convenience, or skill. The streets in the ancient parts are in general irregular, narrow, and winding; those in the modern parts display more symmetry and elegance, and are more spacious. The city extends two miles and a half along East river, and nearly as many along the Hudson, covering the greater part of the space between those rivers. The ground on which it is built is somewhat uneven; a spine or rise begins at the battery, which is a delightful promenade occupying the southern extremity of the island, and runs northwardly quite through the city; from this spine the land slopes away very gently on three sides down to the water's edge; two of these face Hudson and East rivers, while the third looks down upon the bay; hence the city, when viewed from either side, appears rising from the water on that side from whence seen; the best view is from the bay two or three miles south of the battery, because the whole city is then seen, with its numerous spires, and shipping at a single glance, spread out not unlike a fan. The views from the coast of New Jersey, and from Long Island, are less commanding and beautiful, because they are side views and do not take in so great a range.

Broadway is the longest, the most spacious, and the most superb street in the city. It extends from the battery on the spine northwardly about two miles and a half, with a breadth of one hundred feet; the tops of many of the houses afford views of the whole city.

Greenwich, Hudson, Washington, Pearl, Wall, Chatham, Canal, Grand, Broome, Spring, and Chamber, are all beautiful streets.

Public Buildings.—The City Hall is the most magnificent building in the city, or even in the state; it is two hundred and sixteen feet in length, one hundred and five in breadth, and fifty-one in heighth, without including the attic story, which is fourteen feet. The front and sides are constructed of white marble, and the rest of red sandstone; the roof has a balustrade; the centre is round with a cupola. This noble structure wants *elevation* to give it beauty. It was erected in 1803, at an expense of half a million of dollars. The supreme court and city courts are held in it.

Columbia College stands near Park Place. It was founded in 1754, and is the oldest literary institution in the state; it is built of stone, and is three stories high; each story contains twelve apart-

ments; it likewise contains a chapel, hall, laboratory, philosophical apparatus, library, museum, &c. It has a president and five professors, and about one hundred and twenty students.

The Medical College was incorporated in 1806, and modified in 1813. It is in Barclay-street; anatomy, surgery, materia medica, physiology, obstetrics, chemistry, natural history, &c. are taught in it.

Rutger's College is also a medical institution. The same branches are taught in it that are in the Medical College.

The Hospital was founded in 1761. It stands on the centre of the great square formed by Broadway, Chapel, Duane, and Anthony-streets. It was burnt in 1775, but was rebuilt after the revolutionary war. The structure is of stone. Its length is one hundred and twenty-four feet, and its breadth fifty, exclusive of the wings, which are respectively eighty-six feet in length. It is four stories high, including the basement. The number of patients varies according to circumstances. There is a library belonging to this institution which contains upwards of 5,000 volumes.

The Alms-house, at Bellevue on East river, is built of stone. It is three hundred and twenty feet in length, and fifty feet in breadth, and is the largest building in the city.

The Penitentiary stands in the rear of the Alms-house, and is also of stone. It is one hundred and fifty feet long, and fifty wide.

The Work-house is also in rear of the Alms-house. Its length is two hundred feet, and its breadth twenty-five.

Bridewell and the Jail are in the Park near the City Hall. They are built of stone.

The New York Institution stands near the City Hall, on the north side of the Park. Its length is two hundred and sixty feet, and its breadth forty-four. It is four stories high, including the basement. The literary and philosophical society, the historical society, the lyceum, museum, and the academy of arts, are all in this building. The academy of arts was founded by the late Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of the state of New-York.

The Exchange stands in Wall-street. It is 115 feet in front and 150 in depth, and three stories high. Its front is white marble.

The City Library contains upwards of 20,000 volumes. It was

incorporated in 1774. The books were scattered, and principally destroyed during the revolution; those which it now contains have been purchased since 1784. There are several other libraries in the city, but the number of books in each is inconsiderable.

New-York contains one hundred and one churches and places of public worship.

Public Walks.—We shall only notice the Park and Battery. The former is situated between Broadway and Chatham-street, and contains an area of about four acres. The latter comprises an open space at the southern extremity of the city. It is enclosed and laid off into walks, which are planted with ornamental trees. From the battery there is a charming view of the bay, and the mouths of East and Hudson rivers, and the shores of Long Island and Staten Island, and Bergen Point. The battery is the most delightsome promenade in the city, or its environs.

New-York contains about twenty-five thousand houses and stores, besides the public buildings, and about two hundred thousand inhabitants. The markets are well supplied with meat, fish, butter, vegetables, and fruit, and in fine with every thing which the greatest epicure can desire.

New-York is of very easy access, and affords a very safe and commodious harbor for any number of ships. The bay and East river are seldom obstructed with ice, and whenever this occurs, it rarely continues more than one or two days. The instance, in the winter of 1780 and 1781, when East river, the bay, Narrows, Kill, and Hudson were frozen over for about forty days, is unexampled in the annals of the country.

The imports in American vessels, in 1823, amounted to 31,721,974 dollars, and those in foreign to 2,190,479 making a grand total of 33,912,453 dollars. The duties, charged and paid at the Custom House were 9,941,702 dollars. The imports from the 1st of October, 1826, to 30th September, 1827, were as follows:

In American vessels - - - -	$36,600,914
In foreign - - - - - -	2,118,730,
Making a total of - - -	$38,719,644

The exports of domestic produce in American vessels during the same time, were - -	12,320,508
In foreign - - - - - - -	1,600,119
Making in all - - - -	$13,920,627

In the same time the exports of foreign produce in American vessels, were - -	8,908,535
In foreign - - - -	1,009,975
Making in all - - -	$9,918,510

The total amount of exports was 23,734,137 dollars. The balance against New York was then 14,985,504 dollars. It may be asked, how the deficiency was made up? we answer, from our citizens who have intercourse with New York. The great balance of trade against this city, and which goes into the coffers of capitalists abroad, shows how important it is for our government to foster domestic manufactures.

The registered tonnage in the same time was 158,451, and the enrolled and licensed 157,837. See the report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, made in 1828.

The imports of the United States, from the 1st of October, 1826, to the last of September, 1827, were 79,484,068, and the domestic exports were 58,921,691, and the foreign 23,403,136 dollars. On comparing the imports of the United States, it will be found that those of New York are nearly one-half, but her exports bear no proportion. The balance of foreign trade against her is greater in proportion to her imports, than it is against Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, &c. and this balance has to be made from our own citizens.

New York, and the avenues leading to the ocean, are strongly fortified. We shall do little more than enumerate the forts.

Castle William and Fort Columbus stand on Governor's Island, situated in the bay half a mile south of the city.

Fort Wood is on Bedlow's Island, and Crown Fort on Ellis's Island, both lying in the same bay.

Castle Clinton, or the west battery, is situated at the southwestern angle of Manhattan island. The latter, with forts William and

Columbus, command the head of the bay, and the mouths of East and Hudson rivers.

North Fort is on the Hudson, a mile and a half north of fort Clinton.

Fort Ganzevort is still higher up.

Besides these there is a fort at Hurl Gate, eight miles northeast of the city, which secures the entrance on the side of the sound.

Fort Fayette is within the Narrows. Forts Richmond and Tompkins are on Staten Island, over against fort Fayette. The Narrows are seventeen hundred and sixty yards broad. The possession of Long Island and Staten Island, in time of war, is of vital importance to New York, since he who possesses them can dictate laws to the city.

New York was founded by the Dutch, and called by them New Amsterdam, but the year we have not been able to ascertain with so much precision as we could have desired. According to their annals, they purchased some land at the southern end of Manhattan island, towards the latter end of the year 1614, or in the course of 1615, from the Mohiccons, the original proprietors, on which they erected a small fort and some trading houses. By and by a village grew up in the vicinity of the fort, which afterwards expanded into a city. Such was the origin of this splendid city. New York was incorporated by Colonel Nicolls on the 12th of June, 1665.

The subjoined is a view of the population at eight different periods, to wit:

In the year	1697	it contained	4,300	inhabitants.
	1756		13,040	do.
	1790		33,130	do.
	1800		60,489	do.
	1810		96,373	do.
	1820		123,706	do.
	1825		166,000	do.
Estimated in	1829	at	200,000	do.

The annual increase, including emigrants from the States, and from Europe, exceeds ten thousand. Again, the censors in 1825 committed some mistakes in taking the census, which would have carried the number over 175,000; the number at present, it is pre-

sumable, exceeds two hundred thousand exclusive of aliens, or such persons as have not resided long enough in the country to be naturalized.

New York bay was called by the Lenni Lenape *Naijarlij.*—See Smith's History, p. 26. The Mohiccons, the original inhabitants of Manhattan island, belonged to this nation.

Brooklyn is in the county of Kings opposite to the city of New York. East river, which separates these places, is one thousand three hundred and twenty yards broad. Brooklyn may be considered a suburb of New York; it contains about fifteen hundred houses and stores, four places for public worship, several ropewalks, factories, &c. and about nine thousand inhabitants. Its situation is commodious and beautiful, and in most respects little inferior to that of New York. The United States' Navy Yard is here. All kinds of ships come up to the town. At no distant day Brooklyn will become a commercial city of rank and consideration. It is now to New York what Pera, or Galata, is to Constantinople.

Jamaica, a pleasant village in Queen's county twelve miles from the city of New York, is a place of considerable resort in summer.

Flatbush, in Kings county, is about five miles from the city of New York, and contains one hundred dwelling houses, an academy, court-house, and jail. It is pleasantly situated.

Sag Harbor, in the county of Suffolk, on the south side of Gardner's bay, contains about one hundred houses, one church, and an academy. The houses are built on a street a mile long. The harbor is capacious and secure, and admits the largest ships. It is about one hundred miles eastwardly of New York. The tonnage in December, 1826, belonging to this place, was 7,016.

West Farms, in the county of Westchester, is twelve miles north-easterly of the city of New York. The scenery around it is beautiful.

Newburgh is situated on the west bank of the Hudson, about sixty miles north of the city of New York, and one hundred south of the city of Albany. It contains about six hundred houses, four churches, an academy, court-house, jail, and bank. Ships of the largest size come up to it. A good navy-yard might be constructed here at a moderate expense. Its population in 1820 was 2,700; at present it exceeds 3,000.

Poughkeepsie, the shire town of Dutchess county, is agreeably situated on a plain one mile east of the Hudson, seventy-five miles north of the city of New York, and eighty-five south of the city of Albany. It contains upwards of six hundred dwelling houses and stores, one bank, five places of public worship, an academy, Lancaster school-house, court-house, and jail. Many of the buildings are brick and stone, and are constructed with elegance. Poughkeepsie was founded about the year 1740. Its population is three thousand.

Poughkeepsie Landing is one mile westwardly, on the east bank of the Hudson. It is a mere hamlet.

Kingston, the shire town of the county of Ulster, stands on the south side of Esopus creek two miles west of the Hudson; it is one hundred miles northwardly of the city of New York, and sixty southwardly of the city of Albany. It has about two hundred houses, an academy, court-house, church, and jail. After New York, and Albany, it is the oldest place in the state. Its origin may be dated back to 1616. The Dutch called it Esopus. It was burnt by the British in the year 1777.

Catskill, on Cats-kill creek a little above its mouth, is also on the west side of the Hudson; it is one hundred and twenty-five miles north of the city of New York; the number of houses is about two hundred and fifty. The public buildings are, three churches, an academy, court-house, and jail. It is the county town of Green. Its population is about twelve hundred.

Athens is in the same county, on the west bank of the Hudson, one hundred and thirty miles north of the city of New-York; it contains about two hundred houses, and one thousand inhabitants. The river is nearly a mile broad here, and is navigable for ships of six hundred tons burthen. Athens was formerly called Lunenburg, and was founded before Hudson. For some time it was a small village.

Opposite to the village of Athens, on the east side of the river, is situated the city of Hudson, containing four thousand inhabitants. It was founded in the year 1784 by Messrs. Seth and Thomas Jenkins. Its latitude is forty-two degrees fourteen minutes north. The river has five or six fathoms of water quite up to the wharves. It

has about seven hundred houses, five churches, a court-house, and jail. Its situation is beautiful. Mount Merino, lying south of the city, and Prospect Hill to the southeast, enhance its beauty, and add a kind of picturesqueness. From the latter the lofty Kaatskill mountains, enveloped in blue, and soaring towards the sky, are seen to great advantage. Hudson is one hundred and thirty miles north of New-York.

Coxsakie, in the county of Green, has about one hundred houses and one church. It is a little back from the river, and twenty-four miles southerly from the city of Albany, near the south end of a long narrow sandy plain.

Albany,[*] the second city in the state in population, commerce, and wealth, is situated on the west side of the Hudson, about one hundred and forty-five miles northwardly of the city of New-York, in north latitude forty-two degrees and thirty-nine minutes. It is built partly on a flat, and partly on the side of a hill. The streets are generally crooked and narrow. The hill rises with a pretty steep aclivity, and has an elevation of about one hundred and fifty feet at the distance of half a mile from the river, and two hundred and ten at the distance of one mile; here the plain, spreading westwardly, begins. From the border of this plain there is an extensive view eastwardly, and south-eastwardly.[†]

Albany in 1825 contained about sixteen thousand inhabitants, and three thousand dwelling houses and stores, twelve houses for public worship, a state-house, three banks, the capitol, a court-house and jail, an academy, theatre, museum, and an arsenal. Its population at present is about twenty thousand.

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[*] The spot where this city now stands was at first called by the Dutch Aurania; then Beverwyck, till 1625; then Fort Orange, till 1647, and Williamstadt, till 1664. All this time it had also the name of the Fuyck. Fort Orange was built in 1623, and Williamstadt in 1647. At first a hamlet, then a village, and afterwards a town, and lastly a city. For a long time after its foundation it was enclosed with pickets (palisadoes.)

[†] By a late survey the distance between New-York and Albany, by the road on the west side of the river, has been found only 145 miles. According to the latitudes the distance is still less, being only one hundred and thirty-five miles and a half, and eight rods. The received distances of all the intermediate towns and villages on and near the river from these two cities are incorrect. Hudson, for instance, is about one hundred and eight miles by its latitude from the city of New-York. By the river the distance does not exceed one hundred and sixteen miles. The latitudinal distance from Hudson to Albany is about twenty-five miles.

The Academy is constructed of red sandstone. It is ninety feet square, and three stories high, apart from its basement. The Albany Lyceum is kept in it. It is the handsomest edifice in the city.

The Capitol, or State-House, stands at the head of State-street; its base is about one hundred and thirty feet above the Hudson; the structure is brick faced with red sandstone. It is one hundred and fifteen feet long, ninety broad, and fifty high, exclusive of the basement story and the roof. The legislature of the state, the supreme and county courts sit in it. In the structure of this edifice the rules of architecture, whether Egyptian, Hindoo, Chinese, Grecian, Roman, Saracenic, Gothic, or composite, have been violated-

The Erie and Champlain canals terminate at the city in a spacious basin. Sloops carrying from ninety to one hundred and fifty tons come up to the city. The bars below are serious impediments to the navigation of the river; these might be obviated by a canal ten or twelve miles long, and then vessels of two or three hundred tons might make their way up.

Albany was incorporated in the year 1686, by Colonel Dongan governor of the colony. In 1750 it contained three hundred and fifty houses. From its foundation till the close of the revolution it was palisadoed and fortified. Here all the treaties with the Agoneaseah, and other Indians, were concluded. It used to be a great mart for fur.

The exact time when Albany was founded is not known. In 1614 the Dutch erected a small fort and a trading house, on an island half a mile below the site of the present city. In 1623 they built fort Orange on the west side of the river within the bounds of the present city. Some have alleged that they made the latter fort in 1614. If this be true, Albany is the oldest town in the United States, but if the preceding, then New-York, Esopus, and Schenectady take precedence. Notwithstanding the allegation, we have no doubt but New-York is the oldest of the two. A village sprung up near the fort, which was afterwards enlarged and became a city.

Mr. Stuyvesant the governor of the New Netherlands; in a letter to Col. Nicolls, September 2nd, 1664, says, that the Dutch came up the North River, in the years 1614, 1615, and 1616. near fort Orange. Where to hinder the invasions and massacres com-

monly committed by the savages, they built a small fort. A little before in the same letter he says, we have enjoyed fort Orange about forty-eight or fifty years, and the Manhattans about forty-one or forty-two years. See Smith's Hist. p. 28. Albany was called Schau-naugh-ta-da, by the Agoneaseah. The definition of which is, *over the pine plains*, or *across the pine plains*, on the Cahohatatea, (Hudson's River.) The Dutch in after times applied it to the place where Schenectady now stands, as being over the plains from Albany. Hence the radical of Schenectady.

Greenbush is on the east side of the Hudson, over against the lower part of the city of Albany. It is built on the river bottom, and has about one hundred houses. The present village was founded in 1812.

Troy is also situated on the east side of the Hudson, at the head of Sloop Navigation. It is six miles north of Albany, and one hundred and fifty-one north of New-York. The Erie and Champlain canals are joined to the Hudson by side cuts, and locks, so as to benefit this place. Troy is built on a handsome plain, of several miles extent, lying between the river and hill; and contains about eleven thousand inhabitants. There are here two banks, aad six or seven houses for public worship; also a court house and jail. After Albany, Troy is the most wealthy, commercial, and populous city on the Hudson. It was founded between 1787, and 1790; incorporated as a village in 1801, and as a city in 1816. In point of location, it nearly equals Albany. It is the shire town of the county of Rensselaer. The tide ascends to this place.

Gibbonsville in the county of Albany, west of Troy, contains about eighty houses. There are two large basins here appended to the Erie canal. The one is connected with the Hudson by a side cut, and two locks. There is an arsenal at this place.

Lansingburg in the county of Rensselaer, is situated three miles northwardly of Troy, and one mile southeasterly of Waterford, and on the same plain that Troy stands on. It contains three hundred and fifty dwelling houses, five places for public worship, a bank and aca-demy, and about 2500 inhabitants. Sloops now come up to it. Lansingbrgh was founded very soon after the revolution. Troy and Lansingburg, will at some future day be united.

Waterford is in the county of Saratoga, one mile northwesterly of Lansingburg. It stands at the union of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers; the Champlain canal passes by it: since the construction of the dam across the river at Troy, sloops have come up to it. Waterford contains about two hundred houses, two churches, an academy, and one thousand inhabitants. It is 155 miles north of the city of New-York. The point of land on which this village is built, was called Nachtenack by the Agoneaseah.

Stillwater and Schuylerville, are on the Champlain canal, and severally contain forty houses. Bemis's heights are about three miles north-northwesterly of the former place. The latter is noted as being the place where Burgoyne's army capitulated, in 1777.

Sandyhill is on the west bank of the Hudson, in the county of Washington, fifty two miles northwardly from Albany, It is the half-shire of the county, and contains about one hundred houses and one church. The feeder taken out of the Hudson, above Glensfalls, passes by it.

Glensfalls village on the left bank of the Hudson, three miles higher up, is about as large. It is in Warren county.—A feeder for the Champlain canal, taken out of the Hudson, runs by it; boats ascend it.

White-Hall in Washington county, is at the head of sloop navigation, on Lake Champlain: and at the termination of the Northern canal. It contains about seventy houses. It is 72 miles north north-easterwardly from Albany, and 150 southwardly from St. Johns, in Lower Canada: at the foot of Sloop navigation.

Plattsburg, in the town of the same name, in the county of Clinton; is situated on a plain along Saranack river, a little back from Lake Champlain. It is 170 miles northwardly from Albany, and 63 southwardly of Montreal in Lower Canada. It contains three hundred houses, and about one thousand five hundred inhabitants. Its latitude is forty-four degrees, forty-two minutes. It is the county town.

Saratoga Springs, is in the county of Saratoga, and contains nearly one hundred houses. It stands on a sandy and gravelly plain, and is nearly, or quite, environed by woods.

The celebrated mineral springs, are chiefly in a small valley,

lying east of the village. The ground where they are is marshy. Albany is distant thirty-two miles. In the summer months, great numbers of persons resort to these springs, either for health or pleasure. The village has been built since 1800.

Ballston Spa, in the same county, is twenty-six miles north northwesterly from Albany. The village is partly enclosed by hills, being situated at the mouth of a small valley. The scenery although not beautiful, is diversified. The village contains about one hundred houses, two churches, an academy, court house, and jail. It has been wholly built since 1790. The Ballston springs at this place, have considerable celebrity.

The two latter villages owe their origin to the mineral springs.

The city of Schenectady stands on a flat, on the south side of the Mohawk river, fifteen miles north west of Albany. It contains about five hundred houses, three churches, a court house and jail. The Erie canal passes through it. The city is tolerably well laid out, and before the late destructive fire, made a respectable appearance. Schenectady was founded between the years 1616, and 1620. At first, about twenty Hollanders established a trading house there—afterwards a village, and then a city arose. In 1690, it contained sixty-three houses. In the month of February of the same year: it was surprised, taken, and burnt by a party of French and Indians from Canada.

It is alledged by some, that in 1614, there were eight hundred warriors at Schenectady, and that three hundred of these lived upon the lands which have since been included in one farm. By others it is said, that the place had been abandoned some ages before, for causes unknown, and that no great number resided there. This seems to be the more reasonable and probable. Icanderago at the mouth of Schoharie creek, was the capitol of the canton, in 1614, and for a long time after. Ohnowalagantle at this time was a secondary town. Con-nugh-harie-gugh-harie, had before been the capitol. It was superseded by Ohno-wal-a-gantle, as this latter has been by Schenectady.

The college is on the heights in the vicinity of the city, and consists of two brick buildings, each of which is two hundred feet in length and four stories high. They are two hundred yards distant,

and command a view of the city flats, champaigns, and hills, which at times is very pleasing to the eye.

On the 17th of January, 1690, Count De Frontinac, governor of Canada, detached two hundred men, and some Caughnawagas, under the command of D. Aillebout de Mantel and Le Moyne against New-York. They marched through the woods on snow shoes, and arrived at Schenectady on the eighth of February. The town was in perfect security, and under no apprehension. The enemy entered about eleven o'clock at night at the gates which were open; and, that every house might be invested at the same time, divided themselves into small parties of six or seven, and then began the assault. Every house was carried in an instant. Sixty persons were put to death, and twenty-seven were carried into captivity; the rest fled towards Albany nearly naked, through a deep snow which fell that night in a terrible storm, and twenty-five of them lost their limbs by the frost. The town was set on fire and every thing destroyed.

Schenectady, from its foundation to the end of the revolutionary war, was enclosed with pickets, and had block-houses for defences. As the town increased the defences were extended eastwardly and south-eastwardly; the Mohawk and its waters washed it on two sides. At the time it was burnt its population exceeded three hundred. See Smith's Hist. p. 81.

Johnstown, the seat of justice of the county of Montgomery, is forty-one miles northwest of Albany, and four north of the Mohawk. It contains about one hundred and fifty houses, three churches, an academy, court-house, and jail. It was founded in 1771 by Sir William Johnson. The surrounding country is beautiful.

Little Falls Village is in the county of Herkimer, at the Little Falls on the Mohawk. It is seventy-two miles west-northwestwardly from Albany, and contains about one hundred houses and one church. The aqueduct over the river is a noble structure; the scenery is romantic.

The village of Herkimer is seven miles west of Little Falls. It contains about seventy houses, one church, and a jail, and court-house. The situation is beautiful; extensive flats and gentle eminences surmounted by hills nearly environ it.

Fairfield, in the same county, contains about seventy dwelling houses, an academy, college, and church. Its situation is handsome; on the east the land rises. The college of physicians and surgeons stands on a green. There are two stone buildings which can accommodate two hundred students. The faculty consists of a president and vice-president, who is professor of obstetrics, a professor of chemistry and materia medica, a professor of the theory and practice of physic and medical jurisprudence, a professor of anatomy and physiology, and a professor of surgery. The number of students in 1827 was one hundred and forty-four, in 1828 nearly two hundred.

Utica stands on the south side of the Mohawk, ninety-four miles west-north-west from the city of Albany. It contains about twelve hundred dwelling houses and stores, seven churches, an academy, and two banks, and about eight thousand inhabitants. Many of the buildings are of brick, and are elegant. The ground on which the town is built rises from the river with a gentle aclivity; the Erie canal meanders through it. The adjacent country is beautiful.

Utica was founded in 1794. It is near the centre of the state, and may at no distant period aspire to be the seat of government. Its latitude is forty-three degrees and six minutes.

The vale is two miles wide. Utica appears to the best advantage from Hassencleaver on the north; here the spectator sees the town, its environs, the vale, and the surrounding country, spread out before him like a map.

Whitesborough is also on the south side of the Mohawk, in the county of Oneida. It is the oldest place west of the county of Herkimer. The late Mr. Hugh White founded it in 1785; he was the first person who transcended the Dutch settlements on the Mohawk. At that time the whole country west of Germanflats was one vast forest without a single family. Whitesborough contains about one hundred houses, and stands on the banks of the Erie canal. Its environs are delightsome. The Oneida and Seneca vale is two and a half miles broad at this place.

Rome, in the same vicinity, stands on the summit level between the Mohawk river and Wood creek, and is the half shire town of Oneida county. Its distance from the Erie canal is about six hun-

dred yards; it contains about one hundred houses, a church, and an arsenal belonging to the United States. The ruins of fort Stanwix are within it; the feeder taken out of the Mohawk above the village is navigable for boats to the Erie canal. This place has been rendered memorable by the investment and siege of the fort in the autumn of 1777, by St. Ledger, with two thousand men, and the gallant defence by Colonels Gansevoort and Willet.

Canestota is situated on the Erie canal, one hundred and twenty-two miles westwardly from Albany, and at present contains about fifty houses. It has sprung up since 1817, and since the construction of the middle section of the Erie canal. It is in Madison county.

Canasaraga and Chitteningo are two very small villages in the same county. The latter is between hills at the commencement of a feeder of the Erie canal, a mile and an half long.

Syracuse is in the town of Salina, in the county of Onondaga, one hundred and forty-three miles west of Albany. At present it contains upwards of one hundred houses. It has been built since the middle section of the Erie canal was made. Considerable quantities of salt are fabricated here by spontaneous evaporation. The water is brought from Salina, distant a mile and an half.

Salina, another village in the town of the same name, is one mile and a half northwardly of Syracuse, and near the head of Onondaga lake. It is built on a moderate rise of ground, and contains about one hundred and fifty houses. Between the village and lake a marsh which contains the saline springs intervenes. Its situation is unpleasant at this day, owing to the uncultivated state of the marshes, swamps, and adjoining parts. Upwards of seven hundred thousand bushels of salt have been manufactured here in a single year. The Oswego canal now constructing passes through it. Salina was founded in 1791.

Liverpool, in the same town, about three miles north northwestwardly from Salina, is on the east side of Onondaga lake; the number of houses are about fifty. Salt is manufactured at this place.

Geddysburg, another small village in the same town, is at the head of the lake on the Erie canal, one mile westwardly of Salina. It has risen since the construction of the canal, and has about fifty houses. Salt is made at it.

Weed's Basin, in the town of Brutus, Cayuga county, lies on the banks of the Erie canal, about one hundred and sixty-seven miles westwardly from the city of Albany. It is seven miles north of Auburn, and twenty-three west of Syracuse It has risen since 1817, and contains about seventy houses and two churches. It is the depot for Auburn. In a few years it will become a large village. The surrounding country is fertile.

Bucksville, in the same county, four miles west of Weed's Basin, has also risen since 1817. In extent and population it now equals the latter place. The outlet of Owasco offers superior water privileges.

Montezuma, a quarter of a mile north of the Erie canal, is in the same county, three miles west of Bucksville. Salt is made here but not in large quantities. It is as yet only a hamlet.

Ithaca is situated on Cayuga lake, forty-three miles south of the Erie canal, and contains about three hundred houses. It is the shire town of Tompkins county. There is a direct water communication with the canal from this place by the inlet, Cayuga lake, and outlet for boats of forty or fifty tons. Ithaca is a considerable mart for flour, salt, and gypsum. It is one hundred and eighty miles west south-westwardly from the city of Albany, and thirty north-westwardly from Owego, on the Susquehanna. Population two thousand. Ithaca has been built since the year 1800.

Seneca Falls is on the north side of Seneca outlet, in Seneca county, and contains about fifty houses. It is one hundred and eighty-three miles westwardly of Albany. Wheat is floured here.

Waterloo, in the same county, is on Seneca outlet, four miles west of Seneca Falls village, and seven east of Geneva. It has about one hundred houses, a court-house, jail, and meeting-house, and several mills, and five hundred inhabitants. The banks of Seneca outlet are low. On all sides of the village are extended levels. No hills, no rises intervene. The village was founded in 1816. The Seneca canal, a branch of the Erie, passes by it.

Geneva, in the town of Seneca, in the county of Ontario, is built on the side, and on the summit of an eminence at the north-western corner of Seneca lake. It is one hundred and ninety-four miles west of Albany, one hundred and eight east of Buffalo, fifteen

south of the Erie canal, and fifty-eight north of Elmyra, on Tioga river. Its situation is eligible, pretty commanding, and extremely beautiful. Seneca lake is upwards of two miles broad, and spreads south-eastwardly and southwardly. Its delightsome waters with their green hue never freeze. The country around the village is either flat or gently rolling; nothing can surpass the beauty of the contiguous parts. The village contains four hundred houses, three churches, a bank, college, &c. with two thousand inhabitants. Geneva has a water communication with all the country around Seneca lake, and with the Erie canal, by a branch canal which will be completed this year. It was founded in 1792.

Lyons is on the Erie canal just below the confluence of Canandaigua river and Mud creek, fifteen miles northwardly of Geneva, and sixteen westwardly of the hamlet of Montezuma, and contains about one hundred houses. It is the capitol of Wayne county.

Palmyra, in the same county, is on the Erie canal, fifteen miles west of Lyons, and is nearly as large. It is thirteen miles northwardly of the village of Canandaigua.

The village of Canandaigua, in the county of Ontario, is delightsomely situated near the mouth of the lake of the same name, on a moderate ascent. The houses are built mostly on one street, which extends north-westwardly upwards of a mile. The village commands a fine view of the lake and the neighboring parts; the number of dwelling houses exceeds three hundred and fifty. It contains three churches, an academy, a bank and branch bank, courthouse and jail, and about two thousand inhabitants.

Canandaigua is two hundred and eight miles westwardly from Albany, fourteen from Geneva, thirteen southwardly of the Erie canal, twenty-eight southeastwardly of Rochester, and eighty-eight eastwardly of Buffalo. Few villages in the United States can vie with Canandaigua and Geneva in elegance and beauty. It was founded in the year 1790. Its latitude is forty-two degrees forty-eight minutes. The water communication between it and the Erie canal is interrupted by rapids and small falls.

Pittsford, in the eastern part of the county of Monroe, is eight miles east of Rochester, and contains about one hundred houses, and one church. It is on the canal, and has been built since 1819.

The adjacent parts are varied with small rises. The canal runs through it with beautiful sweeps.

Sodus, in Wayne county, on Sodus bay, an inlet of lake Ontario, stands on an elevated point of land projecting into the bay; it is about as large as Lyons; vessels drawing eight feet of water come up to it. It is two hundred and eight miles northwestwardly of Albany, and twelve northwardly of Lyons.

The village of Penfield, in Monroe county, contains about one hundred and thirty houses; it is on the bay of Teoronto or Irondequot bay; distant from Rochester seven miles east-northeast.

Rochester, in the county of Monroe, is situated on the banks of Genesee river, seven miles south of lake Ontario, two hundred and thirty-six west-northwest of Albany, sixty-one east of Lockport, and seventy-seven east of Lewistown, on the Niagara. It contains fifteen or sixteen hundred houses, and eleven thousand inhabitants. There are in it seven or eight churches, a bank, court-house, market-house, and jail. The Erie canal passes through it. The aqueduct over the river is seven hundred and fifty feet in length, and rests upon eleven arches, nine of which have spans of fifty feet each; it is constructed of sandstone, surmounted with limestone; the parapet on the left has an iron railing, and constitutes a beautiful walk. The falls at this place are ninety-seven feet. The environs of Rochester are flat, and exhibit a monotony.

Rochester was founded in 1812, by Messrs. Rochester, Fitzhugh, and Carroll, and has had the most rapid growth of any town in the state. Its water privileges are of a superior order. There are now seven flouring mills, having in all twenty-four run of stones; two others with twelve run are building; besides these there are three mills for custom work having seven run of stones. In 1826 there were floured at the preceding mills for exportation 150,169 barrels of flour. The flour exported in 1826 amounted in the aggregate to 202,900 barrels.

There is one cotton manufactory with fourteen hundred spindles and thirty power looms, one woollen manufactory, and three furnaces for smelting. One daily, two semi-weekly, and three weekly papers are printed here.

Brockville, about twenty miles west of Rochester, is a small village; it is a creature of the canal.

Lockport, sixty-one miles west of Rochester, is situated on the summit of a steep, and contains upwards of three hundred houses. There are ten locks on the Erie canal at this place, five are for the descent, and five for the ascent of boats. It is thirty-one miles northeasterly from Buffalo, twenty east-northeast from Niagara falls, and nine south from lake Ontario. It was founded in the year 1821. The ground before this time was covered with woods.

Black Rock, a small village in the town of Buffalo, in Erie county, is on the east side of the river Niagara, at the west end of the Erie canal. The river is about a mile broad. The village contains about one hundred houses. The harbor which has been constructed here contains one hundred and thirty-six acres, and is two miles and a half long, with a breadth of from sixteen to forty rods. The entrance on the side of the lake is narrow, and not always accessible; the pier or dam at the lower end of the basin or harbor has a lock for the descent and ascent of vessels in and out of Niagara river. The village has been built since the location of the harbor at this place.

Buffalo stands on the shore of lake Erie very near the outlet, two hundred and ninety-six miles west of the city of Albany, two hundred and ninety northeastwardly of Detroit, and twenty-two south southeastwardly of Niagara falls. The ground on which it is built rises very gently from the shore of the lake and Buffalo creek. The village contains four hundred houses, and upwards of two thousand inhabitants. Its situation is one of the best on the lake. A branch canal, a mile or more long, extends from the village on the margin of the lake to Black Rock harbor. Buffalo will be a great warehouse for the products of the east and the west. Its harbor at a moderate expense might be rendered the best on the lake. The money already laid out in the construction of the harbor at Black Rock would nearly have accomplished it. At present it admits vessels of eight or nine feet draft. The country in its environs, and for some distance, is flat, or very moderately rolling. Buffalo creek within the bars has depth of water for a mile and a quarter for ships.

Cazenovia, in the county of Madison, on Chitteningo creek, and Manlius square, on the south Seneca turnpike, and Skeneatelas, at the outlet of the lake of the same name in Onondaga county, contain, respectively, about one hundred houses.

Auburn, the county town of Cayuga, is situated on both sides of the Owasco outlet in the midst of a fertile country, seven miles south of the Erie canal. It contains about four hundred houses, several places of public worship, a bank, court-house, jail, states' prison, &c. and about two thousand inhabitants. It has been built during the last twenty years.

Dunkirk, Fredonia, and Portland, are in Chautauque county, on the shore of lake Erie. Dunkirk and Portland are harbors which admit lake vessels. The first is forty-five, and the second sixty miles southwest of Buffalo.

Oswego, in Oswego county, is on the banks of the river of the same name just above its mouth, and contains about two hundred houses. Vessels drawing eight feet of water cross the bar at the mouth of the river, and enter the harbor. The village is thirty-three miles nearly north of Syracuse on the Erie canal. On the completion of the Oswego canal, there will be a boat navigation up to the Erie. This village is beginning to rise.

Sacketts Harbor is situated on Hungry bay, an arm of Chaumont bay. The harbor is the best on lake Ontario. Men-of-war carrying one hundred guns can anchor close by the shore, where they are secure from every wind. Population fourteen hundred. Sacketts harbor is one hundred and sixty miles from Albany, in a northwestwardly direction, and thirty from Kingston, in Upper Canada. Its latitude is forty-three degrees fifty-five minutes.

Ogdensburg, in St. Lawrence county, is on the right bank of the river St. Lawrence, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie, sixty miles northeasterly of the issue of lake Ontario; it has about one hundred houses, and the county buildings. It is at the foot of lake navigation.

Owego, in the county of Tioga, is on the right bank of the Susquehanna, about a mile above the mouth of Owego creek, and twenty-nine miles southeastwardly of Ithaca, on Cayuga inlet. It has nearly one hundred buildings. It is a depot for salt, gypsum, &c.

Oxford and Norwich are in the county of Chenango, on Chenango river. The former is one hundred, and the latter one hundred and eight miles southwestwardly from Albany. They have, severally, about one hundred houses. Norwich is the county town.

Homer, in Cortland, one hundred aad forty-four miles westwardly from Albany, has about one hundred houses. Cortland, in the same town, has nearly as many. Both are on Tioughnioga river.

Cooperstown is situated at the outlet of Otsego lake in a deep valley, and contains upwards of one hundred dwelling houses, two churches, a court-house, and jail. It is the capitol of Otsego county. Its situation is picturesque and beautiful. The lake, a fine sheet of limpid water, extends northwardly; on both sides are hills aspiring at the mountain character. Cooperstown is twenty-two miles south of the Erie canal, and sixty-three westwardly of Albany. It was founded about 1792 by a Mr. Cooper.

Cherry Valley is in the same county fifty miles west of Albany, and ten south of the canal. It has about one hundred houses, a bank, &c.

Montgomery, twelve miles west of Newburg, is in Orange county, on the river Walkill, and has about eighty houses, a church, academy, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES.

The Antiquities of the State of New-York, are in the western country. They commence at, or near Black river, in the county of Jefferson, and extends southwesterly to the state of Pennsylvania.

The late Governor, De Witt Clinton, in a memoir on these antiquities, says: "That from enquiries and personal observations, he is induced to believe, that the western parts of the United States were; (prior to their discovery and occupation by the Europeans,) inhabited by numerous nations in a settled state, and much farther advanced in civilization than the present tribes of Indians."

The antiquities consist mostly of fortifications, or works of defence.—When these were constructed, or by whom, it is impossible at this distant day to determine with certainty. History is silent concerning them and their constructors. Every thing in relation to them is left to conjecture. Under such an order of things, it cannot be expected that we can deduce certain conclusions. We shall do little beyond stating facts, and making suggestions. Such a course, although it may not be entirely satisfactory, we think cannot fail to interest most readers; that no records remain beyond the works themselves, ought not to appear strange. How many works are now found in Greece, Italy, France, Spain, Barbary, and Asia Minor buried in the same obscurity? Those nations whom it has pleased Providence to favor with a knowledge of letters, have not been very particular in the narration of events. Much time has been spent by travellers and others, in order to ascertain when some of the works in the preceding countries were constructed, and by whom. Conjectures have been resorted to, and inferences deduced: but still the same doubts exist, and must from the very nature of things, which exist in respect to works in America. The people who constructed them have disappeared, and their historical records (if they had any,) have also disappeared. The same has happened in America. Time, which overwhelms and destroys all things, has only left the works; and these

themselves, are in very dilapidated states, exhibiting only faint traces of the originals—overspread with forest trees, over which centuries have passed, and covered with leaves and other vegetable recrements, and assaulted by the vicissitudes of the seasons, these works appear as ancient as the objects which surround them. It is only their forms, and some traces of human skill and industry, that point them out to us as the works of men. Embarrassed, however, as the subjects under consideration are, it cannot be uninteresting to investigate them, make suggestions, and draw some deductions. In doing so, we shall be under the necessity of examining similar works found in other states, which are connected with them. The examination in regard to facts—we flatter ourselves will be interesting.

The fortifications and other works now remaining in the State of New-York, are not numerous or extensive. They are situated in the north eastern part of a long narrow tract of country, heretofore inhabited by a people who have long ago migrated to other regions, leaving no traces behind them, save the works. The causes which led to the abandonment and migration, are as unknown as the people themselves. The Agoneaseah, and Moheakanneews, had no tradition or memorials relative to these works, or the people who constructed them. The Moheakanneews had resided in the cauntry time out of mind; yet they knew nothing concerning the works, or the people. They imagined them to be the works of genii, or the gods, in former times. Upon their arrival, they found the country new and vacant. The Moheakanneews came from the northwest, or west—of this they had a tradition. The abandonment and migration must then have been anterior to their arrival, and at a very remote period; otherwise some memorial, some remembrance, would have been preserved.

Some have alledged, that the people who erected these works were vanquished, and expelled by the Moheakanneews, and other hunting nations of Tartar origin. There is, it is true, considerable plausibility in the allegation. But how are the facts? Are they not disproved. How would the Moheakanneews and others of Tartar origin, have vanquished and expelled a people so much more numerous than themselves, and so much better prepared to

defend themselves, and repel invasions. But admitting for argument sake, that they were here, and that they were vanquished and expelled. Could it have been done without long and bloody contests? Would not every foot of ground have been contested? And would not the Moheakanneews, or those who were actors and victors, have preserved some mementos concerning such memorable events? We say yes. They would have been engraved, and passed in the hearts of all succeeding generations. They would have been handed down from father to son. The father would have shown these works to the son, as monuments of the nation's prowess, victories and glory. He would have said to the son, these works were erected by such a people, whom we conquered, and drove out of the country. The son would have told the same to his son; and thus, it would have been transmitted to all succeeding generations. The principal strokes of great events; such as victories, and expulsions of nations, can be preserved, and are preserved without the aid of letters. Ossian's poems, which narrate warlike achievements, love adventures, and assassinations, were handed down in songs, through an unknown series of ages and orally, or by tradition. These songs were scattered among the Highlanders of Scotland, and were not collected and reduced to writing before the close of the eighteenth century. No one at this day doubts their authenticity. Now, if the rude and unlettered mountaineers of Scotland, could preserve the accounts of events by song, through unnumbered ages; we would ask, whether the Indians of this country, could not have done the same? and we answer in the affirmative.

From the great number of defences and mounds, found in the regions between Black river and the Arkansaw, we are led to believe, that many of them were constructed before the Christian era. The banks of the Mississippi and Missouri, were in all probability, the original seats of the nation, after it became sedentary. Emigrants proceeded from these seats to the east, southeast, and northeast. Those that seated themselves on the Ohio and its branches, sent out colonies that settled in the western parts of Pennsylvania, and New-York. The progress of the settlements and the improvements made, must have been extremely slow, owing to the infancy of the arts. Great and sudden improvements can only

take place where the arts flourish. We do not speak of the fine arts; but of the more useful. The colonization of the United States affords good examples, although our ancestors possessed acquirements superior to any of the American nations. The progress among them in forming settlements and making improvements, was slow. The early colonists were unacquainted with clearing lands. The axe, so indispensably necessary, was then a very rude instrument. Its present improved form has been given to it during the last fifty years. Grubbing trees was in common use for upwards of one hundred years after colonies were planted at Jamestown, New-York, and Plymouth. Indeed it was not laid aside entirely before the axe received nearly its present improved form. This is the era of rapid improvement among us. The ancient settlements made in our western country, must therefore, have been made at different and distant intervals. The clearing of the land around the several works, must have been slow and very laborious. All the improvements were on the lands of prime quality. Centuries must have elapsed during these improvements, and perhaps centuries after they were made, before they were abandoned. We have said that the number of the works were not great—this is true when they are compared with those of Ohio and some other countries, but then they are sufficient to indicate a considerable population.

The most remarkable remains known in the state, are in the counties of Jefferson, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Wayne, Ontario, Livingston, Monroe, Genesee, Orleans, Erie, Chautauque, Cattaraugus, Allegany and Tioga. Those in Jefferson, are on the south side of Black river, in the towns of Rodman, Rutland, Adams and Ellisburg. Those in Rodman are twelve or fourteen miles east of lake Ontario, and eight or nine miles south of the village of Watertown, on Black river. They consist of fortifications, and mounds of earth. The former have ramparts and ditches with avenues. These works appear to be greatly defaced by the ravages of time. In excavations made since the settlement of the country, by our people, several pieces of coarse earthen-ware, apparently the fragments of bowls, dishes, jars, &c. have been found.

That at Rutland is eight or nine miles east of Watertown, and is a fortification. It stands on an eminence, and consists of a ditch,

wall and entrances. Its form is that of an irregular elipsis. On one side there is a triangular projection, of the extent of one hundred and fifty feet, ending in an acute angle. The moat extends quite around, enclosing about four acres of land, exclusive of the projection. Human bones have, on digging, been found at this place.

Those in Adams, amount to seven. They are all circular, containing from half an acre to two acres of land each. Each has a ditch and rampart, extending all around. They severally have gateways or entrances. Fragments of earthen jars, bowls, &c. and whole pipes have been found, several hearths or fire places, buried some feet, have also been found.

" Near Sandy creek, in the town of Ellisbury, fourteen miles south of Sackets Harbor, there are works of defence that contain fifty acres of land. Numerous fragments of pottery have been found at these works." See Mr. Clinton's memoir on the antiquities of the west.

Those in the county of Onondaga, are in the towns of Camillus, Onondaga, Fabius, and Pompey. Those in Camillus, are about four miles south of Seneca river, on the farm of Judge Monroe, near the village of Elbridge, and are two in number. The largest is situated on a hill, and encloses about three acres. It consists of a wall of earth surrounded by a deep ditch. It has two entrances: the one on the east, and the other on the west. There is a spring about ten rods from the latter. The smallest stands on lower ground, at the distance of half a mile. Like the preceding, it has a wall of earth, a ditch, and entrance. The shape of both is eliptical. The wall of the largest was ten feet high, when the land was cleared.

Those in Fabius are in the northeast part of the town.

Those discovered in Pompey, are mostly in the southeast corner of the town, and amount to three. The largest contains six acres, and has a triangular form. It has a ditch, rampart, and gateways. The other two are in the same vincinity, and have ramparts, ditches, and entrances.

" About two miles south of Manlius Square, in the town of Pompey, are the remains of a town, which extended three quarters of a mile from north to south, and half a mile from east to west.

Large spots of black mould in regular intervals, and a few paces apart in which are ashes, mark out the sites of the houses. Here are three forts of circular or eliptical forms, distant about eight miles from each other, and forming a triangle, which protected the approaches." See memoir of Mr. Clinton.

Those in Cayuga are in the towns of Aurora and Auburn. That in Aurora, is two miles southeasterly from the village, The area is of a triangular form, and contains nearly two acres. Two of its sides were defended by precipitous banks, and the other by a bank and ditch. Fragments of earthen vessels, and the bones of animals, have been found here enveloped in beds of ashes.

Those in Auburn are two in number; and are distant a mile and half from each other. The one is a mile and a quarter northeasterly of the village, and the other a quarter ef a mile southwesterly—they are circular. That northeast of the village encloses about two acres. It had a rampart, ditch, and gateway. It is now nearly obliterated by the plough. In its original state, or the condition it was in about thirty-five years ago, about which time the land was cleared, the rampart was seven feet high, and the ditch ten feet wide and three deep,—two persons, the one standing in the ditch, and the other within the enclosure, were unable to see one another. The gateway was on the northeast side, in the direction of a spring close by. Fragments of earthen-ware have frequently been ploughed up. The height of the rampart, the width and depth of the ditch, we had from Mr. Casey, one of the first settlers, who now resides near it; and who went with us, and showed us the works as they are now. The rampart was 350 paces in circuit.

That south-west of Auburn is in a wood, and remains in the condition it was when settlements were made in Cayuga; the works were never finished; the embankment is in eight pieces, varying from three to one hundred paces, with intervals between each piece. This has the same number of pieces, with intervals; the pieces in their lengths invariable corresponding with those of the rampart; the entire circumference is four hundred and thirty-six paces, equal to one thousand three hundred and eighty; the length of the enclosure is one hundred and thirty-four paces, and the breadth one hundred

and ten; its form is as near that of a circle as the nature of the ground would admit; the bank is from one to two feet and a half high, and from eight to ten broad, and is made of earth taken out of the ditch; the latter is from one foot to eighteen inches deep; the lands on the east and west sides fall at first moderately, and then rapidly; on the south abruptly, and in the direction of the village gently.

We examined the stump of a chesnut tree in the moat, which was three feet two inches in diameter, two feet and a half above the surface of the earth; part of the trunk of the same tree was lying by the stump. As this tree had been cut down, we endeavored to ascertain its age, and for this purpose we counted the rings or concentric circles, and found them to amount to two hundred and thirty-five. The centre of the tree was hollow, or rather decayed; this part we estimated at thirty more, making in all two hundred and sixty-five rings. About five years had elapsed since the cutting down of the tree; this was in 1825. There were evident marks on the stump and trunk, showing that the tree had been consumptive long before it was felled. This tree, then, was two hundred and sixty-five years old, and if we add five years, which is the period it had been fallen, which would make two hundred and seventy, and then substract these from 1825, it would carry us back to 1555.

At the distance of three paces from the preceding stump, we examined the remains of another chesnut stump situated in the ditch. The tree must have exceeded three feet in diameter, and must have died standing, and must have remained in that posture many years before it fell. Chesnut is very durable timber, perhaps more so than pine. To aver then that seventy or eighty years had elapsed since the death of this tree, would not in our opinion be an aberation from the truth; and this, admitting the number of years to have passed, would carry the time back before the discovery of America by Columbus, allowing the tree to have been two hundred and seventy years old when it died. Besides, there is no evidence that this, or any other tree in the wood, grew immediately after the dereliction of these works. Several growths of timber, for any thing we know, may have gone before the present. That these works, and others of the kind, were constructed long before Amer-

ica was known to the Europeans, can, we think, admit of no rational doubt.

On the east side of Seneca river, near Montezuma, there are still to be seen the ruins of a small fort. There is a small mound on the east side of the same river not far from the fort; it is artificial.

"There are three forts near Canandaigua, in the county of Ontario, and several between Cayuga and Seneca lakes, in the county of Seneca, there being three within a few miles of each other."—See the Memoir of Mr. Clinton.

In the town of Avon, in Livingston county, there are the remains of a fortification on a high point of land projecting into a pond; it is small, and has its ditch, bank, and opening. The pond is in the Genesee flats, and was probably once the bed of the river.

There is a small fort on Irondequot bay in the town of Penfield, Monroe county. It is on the north side of the ancient beach of lake Ontario, and must have been erected subsequent to the retrocession of the waters of that lake.

Several of these ancient works have been discovered in the town of Ridgway, and the adjacent parts in the same county. Burial grounds have also been discovered.

Between Genesee river and lake Erie several remains of defensive works have been noticed. In the Indian openings north of Batavia, in the county of Genesee, there is a mound; before ploughed down it was ten or twelve feet high, and about one hundred in circuit. A similar mound is to be seen in the town of Wilson, Niagara county; it is about three-quarters of a mile from the shore of lake Ontario; its dimensions before ploughed were about the same as those of that at the openings. Human bones have been found in both. Near the union of Alleghany and Olean creek, in the county of Alleghany, are some small mounds of earth.

"On the south-east side of lake Erie there is a series of old fortifications running from Cattaraugus creek to the Pennsylvania line, a distance of fifty miles; some are two, three, and four miles apart, and some within half a mile; some contain five acres; the walls or breast works are of earth; they are from two to five miles from the lake. Still farther south-eastwardly there is said to be another chain of forts running parallel with the former, and about

the same distance from them as those are from the lake. No forts have been found between the ancient beaches of lakes Ontario and Erie, and their present shores. From this circumstance it has been inferred that the lakes came up to them, and that since their structure the waters have retreated to their present bounds." See Memoir of Mr. Clinton.

In the latter part of the extract the conclusion deduced by Mr. Clinton is evidently erroneous, at least as to there being no works of defence, &c. north of the old beach of lake Ontario. The fort at Irondequot bay is between the lake and beach.

Very few of these ancient works have been noticed by writers. The number in the western parts of this state considerably exceeds one hundred; in form and structure, and also materials, there is a correspondence. Two kinds of defences have been described; the circular and the irregular. The circular in form and circumstances agree with those of circular dimensions in Pennsylvania, Ohio, &c. The same people constructed the one that did the other. The Moheakanneews, Agoneaseah, and other hunting nations of North America, never drew lines, or raised embankments for defences. The Satanas, or Sauounons, who possessed the western country before the arrival of the Agoneaseah, never raised defences of earth. Two or more of these works were not unfrequently in sight of each other. These works enclosed towns and villages; hamlets, or small collections of houses might have been in the neighborhood of each; these were abandoned in wars and invasions, and the population collected within the defensive towns; the lands around the towns were cultivated, and were usually rich; the situations chosen were not usually on the banks of rivers and streams abounding with flats; they were healthy and well selected; the hunting tribes, such as the Agoneaseah, &c. always seated themselves on the banks of streams abounding with rich alluvions, and without much regard to health.

These works were not erected as defences against the nations of Tartar descent, as we have before shown. The constructors formed several independent states, which were sometimes at peace and sometimes at war: but more on this head hereafter.

All the works which we have enumerated had, before improve-

ments were made by our people, coverings of vegetable earth, which had been formed from the recrements of trees and plants after their abandonment; their origin must therefore be traced back to a time long before the visiting of America by Columbus. Hitherto no iron, and no implements of European fabrication have been found in and about them. That no iron, or no implement made of that metal should have been found, ought not to be a subject of wonder to us, because, had the constructors been possessed of it, oxidation or rust would in all probability have destroyed it long ago. Iron, although the most valuable of all the metals, decomposes by oxidation the soonest; lead, copper, silver, and gold, on the other hand, are nearly indestructible, especially the two latter. Every thing found, it may be said, is American; but not like any thing made by the hunting tribes. There is an enigma. What is this enigma? Is it susceptible of solution, or must it continue unsolved? We shall pursue the subject step by step, and endeavor to solve it.

The same kind of works and utensils are found in Pennsylvania, between the Alleghany mountains, lake Erie, and the state of Ohio; but as they do not surpass those found in New-York, we shall proceed to those in Virginia and Ohio. Those of Pennsylvania connect those of this state with those of those states.

Antiquities of Virginia.

Those most deserving of notice are below the village of Wheeling, on Big and Little Grave creeks, that fall into the Ohio, and on the Great Kanawha that falls into the same river, &c. Adjoining Big Grave creek, fourteen miles southwardly of Wheeling, there is a tumulus of great magnitude; its circumference at its base is one hundred and eighty paces, and its diameter about seventy; its perpendicular elevation, according to the American Archeologia, is by actual admeasurement ninety feet. The summit comprises an area of forty feet diameter. The materials of which it is built were not taken from the vicinity, since there are no marks of excavations to be seen. Within a short distance of this there are five smaller ones, some of which are thirty feet in diameter, and proportionably high.

There are several mounds on Little Grave creek a mile north of the former; both streams have obtained the appellation of Grave creek, from the circumstance of these tumuli being on their margins.

On the borders of the Great Kanawha towards its mouth, and from thence down the Ohio ten or twelve miles, are to be seen the ruins of forts and other military works; they consist of moats, ramparts, and openings, or gateways; some of them cover considerable land, while others are limited to an acre or two; they are circular, regular, and irregular in their contours; the ramparts of the large works are high, and the ditches broad, and three, four, or more feet deep.

About eleven miles below the mouth of the Great Kanawha, there is a mound that nearly equals the size of the great one on Big Grave creek; it is round, and rises with a very steep acclivity. There are many other works of defence, and also mounds in western Virginia, at or near the river Ohio, but their numbers and sameness forbid an enumeration.

Antiquities in Ohio.

The fortifications or works of defence in the state of Ohio, consist of walls of circular, square, and irregular forms, with ditches and avenues. The height of the walls, and the breadth and depth of the ditches vary much. The wall of each defensive post is nearly of the same height, breadth, and declivity all around. The ditch of each is likewise nearly of the same width and depth. In extent these works vary from an acre to one hundred acres and upwards. The avenues, or openings leading into them, amount from one to ten, or more, depending on the dimensions, structure, location, and other circumstances. The walls are usually single, but in some instances double, parallel and contiguous to one another; in certain instances parallel walls connect different defences. The fortifications are of four kinds, round, eliptical, square, and irregular; the first is the most common. These works are generally situated on rising ground, near rivers and streams. In the flat country this rule had to be dispensed with. We shall commence with the defensive works at Licking, because they are the most extraordinary.

In the county of Licking, near Newark, between two branches

of Licking river at their coalescence, there is a fortification that encompasses about forty acres of ground; the walls and ramparts are composed of earth, and are from ten to twelve feet high; there are eight avenues or gateways leading into it, which are severally sixteen feet wide; each gateway is defended by a raised platform within the works, and at the distance of about ten feet from the entrance.

Near the latter fortification there is another which contains rather over twenty acres; it is united with the preceding by two ramparts of earth which run parallel one with the other, and which are ten or eleven feet high. Between these parallel ramparts there was a covered way extending from the one fort to the other. Just beyond the extreme gateway of the second fort, there is a tumulus of earth that commands a view of the adjacent parts; it was probably a watchtower.

There is another fort connected with the second by parallel walls, and links of defence, which stands at some distance; it encloses about twenty-five acres; its ramparts are between twenty-five and thirty feet high; a ditch surrounds the whole; the ramparts were built of earth taken out of the ditch. These fortifications are of the circular kind.

A square fort is connected with the foregoing, which contains twenty acres; its walls are about ten feet high; the parallel walls forming the communication are thirty paces asunder; parallel walls extend from this fort to the river near by. These works are on a high plain, which spreads to some distance. Two parallel walls stretching from these works, are easily traced for a mile or more in the direction of the river Hockhocking. There are three other mounds without the defences, so located as to serve for watch towers. The four mounds command a view of all the fortifications. Each mound is surrounded by a rampart and ditch.

The fortification on the east side of the Sciota river, at Circleville, in the county of Pickaway, is little less interesting than those at Licking. It consists of two enclosures joined together; the one enclosure is round, and the other square. The round has two ramparts, which are separated by a foss ten paces broad, and several feet deep. The ramparts which surround the enclosure are seventeen feet high, and wide enough on their tops for roads. The tops

of the outer and inner ramparts are at the distance of twenty-one paces; the exterior ramparts are constructed of loam and gravel taken from the ditch, and the interior of clay brought from some distance. The materials of which these ramparts were constructed were kept distinct. There is only one entrance leading into this fortification, and that is from the square fort. The circumference, measuring around the base of the outer rampart, is eight hundred and eighty paces; this gives a diameter of about three hundred paces; the whole encloses about twelve acres of land. In the middle of the enclosure there is a tumulus of earth. The external circuit of the inner rampart is about eight hundred and thirty-eight paces; the ramparts, severally, are about ten paces broad at their bases.

The square fort stands on the east side of the preceding, and is nine hundred and thirty-six paces in circuit; this gives to each side of the square two hundred and thirty-one paces, or a little over forty rods. The ground enclosed amounts to eleven acres and some perches; the embankment is ten paces broad at its base, and has an elevation of seventeen feet; there is no ditch around this fort; it has seven entrances leading into it, and one leading into the circular fort; there is an entrance at every corner, and one on each side, equi-distant from the angular openings; the entrances are from four to five paces wide. Within the enclosure there are eight platforms, of a round form, and of the height of three feet each; these stand directly opposite to the entrances, and at the distance of only a few paces; these were constructed, it is presumable, to guard the entrances. The embankment of this fort, like the inner one of the round, is composed of clay, brought from a distance.

The ditch is not so deep now as it was in its original condition, having in the lapse of time been filling up. The same hand has lowered the ramparts; but, notwithstanding the dilapidations, these works are still considerable, and fill the mind with wonder. Had Dr. Robertson, and others, but seen these, and those at Licking, they would have paused before they came to the conclusion that all the works of the Americans were of the rudest kind, and unworthy of notice.

On Paint creek, a water of the Sciota, there are extensive works.

The principal enclosure is estimated to contain one hundred and twelve acres; the rampart surrounding it is from twelve to fourteen feet high, and proportionably broad at its base and apex; the ditch running around it, is from eighteen to twenty feet broad. Adjacent to this there is a small enclosure containing about fifteen acres; its wall and ditch resemble those of the former.

On the east side of the Muskingum, about half a mile above its junction with the Ohio, there is a square fort, called by the inhabitants the *town*, which encompasses about forty acres. The embankment is from seven to ten feet high, and from fifteen to thirty feet broad at its base. Every side of the embankment has three gateways, which are equi-distant. Two walls of earth stretch in parallel lines, from the middle gateway fronting the river towards the stream; they are eighty paces apart, and where highest twenty feet; their bases are about forty feet broad; the length of these walls is one hundred and twenty-one paces; the alluvial flat between the termination of these parallel walls and the river, it is supposed, has been formed since the dereliction of the works. There are three elevated squares within the enclosure; the first is sixty paces in length, and nearly fifty in breadth; this square is near one of its angles; the second, which is some less, is on one of its sides; the third, which is on another side, is still less. A circular mound, near the centre, rises to the height of six feet. One of the angles of the fort is defended by a parapet, of a semi-circular form, crowned with a mound. South-east of this enclosure there is a fort containing about twenty acres; it has an avenue at each angle, and one mid-way from the angles, on every side. Each avenue is defended by a tumulus of a circular form. The parallel walls extending towards the river, it is believed, constituted a communication, or covered way, to the stream which then flowed by their termination. These works are on a plain considerably elevated.

There are many others in the state of Ohio. Some are round, others square, &c.; but it would lengthen this article too much to give them a place. We intend, in the next place, to treat of the mounds, utensils, &c. found in this state.

Mounds or tumuli of different magnitudes, are found disseminated over the greater part of the state. The mounds differ in

forms, as well as in dimensions. Some are round at their bases, and terminate at the apex in a platform, which gives them the appearance of truncated cones; others have similar bases, and surfaces, but end in a point, while there are others which are semiglobular, or oval at their radices. The largest one near Worthington, is of the first description, and exhibits at the apex a level area, of one hundred and twenty feet in circuit, which gives a diameter of rather over forty feet. At Marietta on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Muskingum, there is one of the same kind, but the area of the top, does not surpass twenty feet in diameter. The circumference of this mound at its radix, is one hundred and ten paces, equal to twenty rods. Its elevation is fifty feet. Those at Worthington, and Gallipolis, are each from fifteen to twenty rods in circumference at their bases. There was one at Chillicothe, a few rods west of the Sciota, which has been removed within a few years. Its form was semiglobular, and its elevation about forty feet. It was ninety yards in circumference at its base. The earth of which it was made, was not taken from the immediate vincinity. In the northeast part of the county of Belmont, on the Ohio bottom, there are two or three mounds of semiglobular form. The largest exceeds one hundred and fifty yards in circumference, and has an elevation of twenty feet. There are tumuli at Athens, on the west side of Hockhocking river. On the south side of Shade river, twenty miles south of Athens, and at the French Grant, sixty rods north of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of Little Sandy, there are six mounds, but neither exceeds fifteen feet in height. At Franklintown, near the forks of Sciota, there was a mound of considerable size, but it has been demolished by brick makers. It was constructed of brick-clay, brought from some of the surrounding parts. On the exterior side of the smaller fortification, on the east side of the Muskingum, there is a round tumulus, which is one hundred and twenty paces in circumference at its pediment, and of the height of thirty feet. Its shape is not unlike that of a sugar-loaf. It is surrounded by a ditch and parapet. The ditch is four feet deep, and fifteen broad. The height of the parapet, equals the depth of the ditch. There are several other works, such as tumuli, walls, and excavations, around and within the latter fort,

and the larger one is called the town. The excavations of a circular form, it is conjectured were wells. One of these thirty-six years ago, was twenty-two feet deep, and one hundred and eighty feet in circumference at the top of the brim. Another of these excavations, within one of the forts, has a circumference at the brim, of seventy-two feet. It has been sounded with a pole nearly thirty feet. Large quantities of rubbish have accumulated in these pits. Near the fortifications on Paint creek, there are six mounds, which are enclosed with walls of earth. Several cemeteries are in the vincinity of the same works. At the distance of two hundred paces from the round fort at Circleville, there is a tumulus standing on a hill, whose perpendicular elevation, (exclusive of that of the hill,) is nearly one hundred feet. Human bones of all sizes have been found in it.

In this section, we propose to treat concerning the relics found in some of the tumuli, which have been opened; and of various implements, utensils, &c. which have been discovered in, and out of the fortifications, and otherwise, since our people have formed settlements in Ohio.

One of the mounds or tumuli, on the Ohio bottom, in the town of Belmont, was opened a few years ago, and in the fifth layer from the top, human bones were found, arranged transversely in a layer of earth six inches thick, apparently formed of animal matter. Long hair of a dark brown color, was also found—it was very tender. Under the bones were spear heads made of flint, with holes for the insertion of poles: pieces of iron, two or three feet long; a kind of cut and thrust swords, having their handles ornamented with rings, or ferules of silver and lead, on which were representations of terrapins, and birds, and triangular, rectangular, circular, and eliptical figures.

In and around the works at Licking, rock-crystals, some of them very beautiful, and hornstone suitable for arrow and spear heads, and a little lead and iron have been found. Old fragments of potter's ware have been picked up on the east side of the Muskingum. Those fragments were ornamented with lines on the outside, executed ingeniously—the inside of these pieces of ware were glazed. Pieces of copper, have at various times and places, been dug up

in these works. One piece of copper was in the form of a cup, with low sides—the bottom was thick and strong.

The mound in the round fort at Circleville, has been moved, and its contents exposed. The things fonnd may be noted. Two human skeletons, a large number of heads, either for arrows or spears, the handle of a small sword, or large knife, made of an elk's horn, a silver ferrule encompassed the end containing the blade; which silver ferrule, though black, was not much injured. The blade was gone by rust; but in the hole of the handle there was left the oxide, or rust of the iron, of similar shape and size with that of the shank formerly inserted. Some well burnt bricks were here found. A mirror of the length of three feet, and the breadth of half a foot, and of the thickness of an inch and a half, formed of isinglass, was also found. It had on it a plate of iron, which had become an oxide or plate of rust. In the great tumulus at Circleville were found with the human bones, stone axes, and knives, and various ornaments. The articles discovered were numerous. Something seemed to have been buried with every corpse.

Under the base, in the centre of the mound at Chilicothe, lay a human skeleton, on a platform of twenty feet extent, made of bark; on the breast lay a piece of copper, also a curious stone, five inches in length, and two in breadth, with a perforation through it, containing a string made of the sinew of some animal. On this string were many beads, formed of ivory or bone. The whole seemed to have been designed to wear upon the neck, as a kind of ornament or badge.

Urns, ornaments of copper, heads of spears and arrows of the same metal, as well as medals of copper, have been found in a stone mound, near Newark on Licking river, and in some other places.

In one of the tumuli on Grave creek, in the state of Virginia, copper beads were found about twenty years ago. They were made of coarse wire hammered out, and cut at unequal lengths, they were soldered together in an awkward manner. These beads were incrusted with verdigrise; but the insides were pure copper.

Some of the pottery found along the river Ohio, is equal to any thing of the kind now manufactured. The vessels are well shaped, and well glazed. A crucible was discovered in a mound near Chilicothe, which will bear an equal degree of heat with those now used.

A stone pipe was found in an alluvial soil, six feet below the surface. The brim was curiously worked, and on the front of the bowl, there was a handsome female face.

On levelling a tumulus at Marietta, the bones of a person were found: lying immediately over, or on the forehead of the person, were found three large circular bosses, or ornaments for a sword belt or a buckler. They were composed of copper, overlaid with a thick plate of silver. Two small pieces of leather were found between the plates of one of the houses. Near the side of the body was found a plate of silver, which appeared to have been the upper part of a sword scabbard. It was six inches in length, and two inches in breadth. It had no ornaments or figures, but had three longitudinal ridges. It seems to have been fastened to the scabbard by three or four rivets, the holes of which remained in the silver. Two or three broken pieces of a copper tube were likewise found, filled with iron rust. These pieces, from their appearance composed the lower end of the scabbard, near the point of the sword. No sign of the sword itself was discovered, except the appearance of oxide of iron or rust, as already mentioned. Near the feet was found a piece of copper, weighing three ounces. From its shape, it appeared to have been used as a plumb, or for an ornament; as near one of the ends, there was a circular crease for tying a string. It was round, two inches and a half in length, one inch thick in the centre, and half an inch at each end: it was composed of small pieces of native copper, pounded together, and in the cracks between the pieces, were stuck several bits of silver. This copper ornament was covered with a coat of green rust, and was considerably corroded. A piece of iron ore which had the appearance of having been partially vitrified, or melted, was also found.

The following will show in loose numbers, the probable estimate of the cubic contents of the ramparts, of the defensive works at

Circleville, from which ideas may be formed of the labor and expense.

The interior rampart of the round enclosure, is eight hundred and thirty-eight paces in length, measuring all around, and the exterior eight hundred and eighty. The rampart of the square enclosure is eight hundred and sixty, after deducting forty paces for the seven avenues opening into it, and the one leading into the round fort. Each rampart is thirty feet broad at its base, and has an elevation of seventeen feet. The three are two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight paces, or seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-four feet in length. This is the length, supposing the the three to be straight, and joined together. Now, on reducing the rampart to cubic yards, it will be found to contain upwards of 100,000, but we will put them at that number. The earth of eight hundred and eighty paces, was taken out of the ditch; and that comprising the residue, being one thousand six hundred and ninety-eight paces, was brought from a distance. No beasts of burden, no carriages, unless they were drawn by men, were used. The whole must have been brought in baskets and bags, or sacks by men. One of our canal laborers can excavate about six cubic yards of brick-clay in a day, which is the kind that was brought, provided the excavation does not exceed four feet. Here then, we have data for the number of days spent in the simple excavation, supposing the implements used, (which was not the case,) equal to those used by our people, and the daily excavation equal. The number of cubic yards in one thousand six hundred and ninety-eight paces in length, and other dimensions as before stated, would be about seventy thousand. To excavate this, would require eleven thousand six hundred and sixty-six days, or the labor of one hundred men, one hundred and sixteen days. To transport the same after excavated, would require double or tripple the time. But it is more than likely, that six times the number of days mentioned, were consumed in the excavation and transportation.

The bare excavation was equal to six miles of ordinary canal excavation, allowing the canal to be thirty feet broad, and four feet deep. The wall made of the earth taken out of the ditch required more labor than three miles of canal. The em-

bankments, then, had they been constructed by our people with materials on the spot, would have required as much time and labor as nine miles of canal, of the width and depth above stated. But what was the labor in constructing the works of defence at Circleville, when compared with the labor of the other defensive works, mounds, watchtowers, &c. dispersed over the western states? We might comparatively answer, no more than a drop of water in a bucket. The great tumulus at Kahokia alone contains upwards of four times the number of cubic yards that the works do at Circleville. The excavation alone, without taking into consideration the transportation, and heaping, was at least equal to that of twenty-seven miles of canal. The works of defence at Licking are four in number, and contain over one hundred acres of land. The ramparts of one are nearly thirty feet high. These works, with their appendages, must have cost more than twice the labor that those did at Circleville.

Antiquities in Indiana.

In the state of Indiana are heaps of stones which contain human bones, charcoal, and ashes. The stones, in general, have been transported some distance. Considerable earth is interposed between them; this has, in a measure, preserved the bones from destruction. Few of these heaps of stones have as yet been opened. Recently the stones were removed from one situated on a hill, in the town of Aurora, when six stone coffins were discovered, side by side, in two rows. From the disposition of the stones composing the coffins, it appears that one body was interred in each. The coffins were made of flag stones, dressed and adjusted in such a manner that all the parts of each fitted, and constituted a close chest. In these chests, or coffins, the entire skeletons of six persons were found in pretty good preservation. The hill on which the heap of stones containing the coffins is situated, overlooks the Ohio river, and bounds its valley. The bodies interred in the coffins were probably those of distinguished persons; perhaps chiefs or priests. The heap of stones, with the earth interposed, was raised after the coffins containing the bodies were interred.

The Toltecans, and Mexicans, made stone structures. The stones were dressed and adjusted, so that the concavity of the one suited the convexity of the other. The pyramid of Papantli is built of stones dressed in this manner.

Works of defence, mounds, &c. are of common occurrence in the state of Indiana. They are usually on good land. In every respect they are analogous to those in Ohio, and the neighboring states. As our information is only general, we shall be unable to say any thing farther in respect of them.

Antiquities in Kentucky.

There are works of defence in various parts of Kentucky, also mounds, &c. The first that we shall notice are the works of defence two or three miles above the mouth of Kentucky river, in the county of Gallatin. They are on an eminence about half a mile from the Ohio river, and occupy twenty-five acres of land. The wall consisted of stones brought from the neighboring hills. Behind the wall there was a platform of earth, raised probably to near its height. Both are now in ruins. The former has fallen down; the stones were not laid in mortar. The wall stood on the declivity of the eminence, and followed its windings all around. The base, except in some places, rested on the earth. The platform, which was behind the wall, is from ten to fifteen feet broad. Where it became necessary to pass through rocks, marks of sledges, &c. are now to be seen.

Two slender ridges, the one stretching to the river alluvions, and the other to the hills in the vicinage, were the only practicable avenues by which it could be assailed. These ridges approach and leave it in opposite directions, and have less elevation than the eminence; they afforded egress and ingress to those in the fort. The defensive works seem to have been strongest where these ridges take their departure. The acclivity from the plain which surrounds the eminence to the wall is from thirty to forty degrees. The plain of the eminence, or the area within the wall, is nearly three hundred feet above the bed of the river. On each side of the two avenues leading from the works there are mounds of earth, that attest that these points were fortified with the utmost care.

At the time these works were erected, it is believed that the Ohio flowed at the foot of the ridge now ending at the alluvions, and that it afforded water to those in the works. The eminence commands a fine view of the river, and the adjacent parts. The tombs, or places where it is imagined the dead were interred, contain no remains.

It is the opinion of persons of veracity, that the stones lying around the platform would make a wall eighteen feet high, and twelve broad.

The Toltecans, Acolhuans, Tlascalans, and Mexicans, constructed walls of stone as well as of earth. Sometimes the stone walls were dry, and sometimes not.—See the History of Mexico, by M. Clavigero, and Robertson's History of America.

May not this have been a Toltecan, Acolhuan, or Mexican town? May not villages have adorned its environs?

The numbers of old fortifications and mounds found in Kentucky, have excited the admiration of travellers. They are large and small, and of various forms. The mummy, and the body of the pecari found in this state, are not amongst the least remarkable curiosities.

ANTIQUITIES IN TENNESSEE.

In the state of Tennessee there are many vestiges remaining of ancient dwellings, towns, and fortifications, with mounds, barrows, utensils, images, &c. wherever the soil is of prime quality, and convenient to water. The growth of forest trees over these venerable remains, demonstrates that the country was evacuated more than five hundred years ago.

In the county of Bedford there is a stone fort; the wall is ten feet high, and from sixteen to twenty feet broad at the base, and from four to five at the top. Other works adjoin it. On the 7th of August, 1819, Col. A. Erwin caused a white oak tree which grew on the top of the wall to be cut down. The annular grains on being counted, amounted to three hundred and fifty-seven. This tree was then seventy-eight years old when De Soto landed in Florida, and thirty when Columbus first visited America.—See Haywood's Hist. of Tennessee, Vol. 2.

Defensive works are very common in Tennessee, but to describe

more would, we fear, weary the reader's patience. We shall, however, say something in relation to the mounds, mummies, &c.

A few miles south of the Muscle Shoals, in Tennessee river, there is a square mound which faces the cardinal points; it is one hundred feet in length, and as many in breadth at its base, and has an elevation of sixteen feet. Its summit is flat. A ditch and rampart once enclosed several acres around this mound. Within the enclosure there is also a small oval mound, and some graves.

Many other mounds are now seen near the Tennessee, in this section of the country, which have elevations of from fifteen to twenty-five feet. They are round, as well as square. The summits of some are flat, and others round. Ditches surround some, and all have graves around them.

Near Nashville, and a few rods from the left bank of the Cumberland river, there is an artificial elevation of twelve feet, with a level summit fifty feet broad. Mr. Haywood, the historian of Tennessee, caused a cut to be made through the centre, where he found some bones, ashes, and charcoal. Near this mound he informs that there are several graves from fifteen to thirty feet in diameter, and rounded on the top. The bodies, from the structure of these graves, seem to have been placed on the original surface, and then covered with earth. Bones are found in all these graves from six to eighteen inches below the surface of the earth. Stone casements are always seen where the graves are near quarries; but, in other cases, only a hillock of earth. Upwards of one thousand stone casements might have formerly been seen around the latter mound before the ground was ploughed.

On the Ohio, mounds are found from twenty to sixty feet high. Near the Looshatchie there is one of regular form and large dimensions, which contains so many fragments of bricks as to induce the supposition that it was faced with those materials.

The temple of Cholula, in Mexico, was built of alternate layers of brick and earth. Hereafter we shall have occasion to say more about this temple. We have barely noticed it here, to show the analogy between the Tennessean and Mexican temple. The flat-topped mounds, with regular sides in the Mississippi valley, it is conjectured, amounted to some hundreds.

Mounds, and other works, are found in the states of Mississippi, and Georgia, but we shall barely notice them. One of the most extraordinary works in the former state, is a mound near Washington, one hundred and forty-six feet high, made of earth. Those in the latter state are at the Oakmulge fields, and consist of mounds, defences, &c. &c.

A vessel was found on the forks of Cumberland river, in alluvial earth four feet below the surface. It was composed of fine clay of a light amber color, rendered hard by fire. Parts of it were painted with vermillion, which were very brilliant. The vessel contained about a quart, and was of the following figure : the top was a hollow stem of three inches in diameter, and swelling in size downward like a gourd shell. Against the bulge there was the accurate resemblance of three human heads, joined each one to the vessel by the back of the head, and each face outward in a triangular form, and all of the same dimensions. The workmanship of the faces was excellent, even a modern artist might be proud of the performance. Another of these vessels was found in a tumulus near Nashville, in the same state. It is formed of fine clay like the preceding. It exhibits three views of a man's head and body to the middle, with the arms cut off close to the body. It gives a side view of one of these heads, with strong and well formed features. It gives a front view of another of them, and a view of the back side of the head and shoulders of the third. Each head has upon it a fillet and cake, with the hair plaited.

Well made, burnt and ornamented vessels of clay have also been found in Kentucky.

See Haywood's History of Tennessee, Vol 2, from pages one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty-eight.

ANTIQUITIES IN ILLINOIS.

In a tract of alluvial land, extending along the Mississippi from the Kaskaskia river to the Kahokia river, a distance of eighty miles, with an average breadth of five miles, numerous vestiges of an ancient and dense population are still to be seen. The tract is called the American bottom, and but little subject to inundation. The

vestiges consist of excavations, mounds, defences, earthen-ware, flints, &c.

Among the mounds or tumuli, those most remarkable, are two groups; the one about ten miles above Kahokia, and the other nearly the same distance below, which in all, exceed one hundred and fifty of various sizes. They are mostly of a circular form, and at a distance, resemble large stacks of hay, scattered through an extensive meadow. One of the largest of these tumuli, is about two hundred yards in circumference. Its form is nearly square. The summit is flat, with an area sufficient for several hundred men to stand on.

At the distance of three miles along the Kahokia, there is the largest assemblage of these tumuli. The principal one is a stupendous hill, or heap of earth. Its shape is that of a parallelogram, standing from north to south. On the south side, there is a broad apron or step, about midway between the base and summit; below this, there is another projection of about fifteen feet, which leads down to the plain on which the tumulus stands. The circumference of this tumulus, is nearly eight hundred yards at the base, and its perpendicular elevation about one hundred feet. This mound, as well as all the others in its vincinity, stands on alluvial ground. Several of these tumuli are almost conical, and at regular distances from each other. Flints and fragments of earthen-ware, are found strewed or scattered over the ground around them. Since the settlement of the country, astonishing quantities of human bones have been dug up. The whole face of the bluff or hill, which bounds the bottom land, appears to have been one continued cemetery. These groups of mounds, probably occupy the sites of two cities. In the city of Mexico, there were a great number of mounds. Around the great temple alone, there was upwards of forty. Had Mexico been deserted some centuries, the only vestiges remaining to point out the site of the towns, would have been the walls, ditches, mounds, and causeways.

Many of the excavations in the alluvial flat, exhibit the traces of deserted villages, towns, and cities. An eye wittness avers, that were the city of Philadelphia and its suburbs, and the adjacent country, deserted for some centuries, there would not be more nu-

merous traces, apart from stone edifices, of human existence. See views of Louisania by H. M. Breckenridge Esq.

On clearing out the saline below St. Genevieve some years ago, waggon loads of earthen-ware, (some fragments of which, bespoke vessels as large as a barrel, and proving beyond all question, that these salines had been worked before they were known to our people,) were found.

The base of the great mound at Kahokia, comprises an area at its base of about nine acres of ground, which is more than the great pyramid in Egypt covers. This mound in some respects, resembles that of Cholula in Mexico. Buildings of wood, it is highly probably, were erected on this mound, and the others found in our western country of large dimensions. The Abbe Clavigero, in his history of Mexico, has given a drawing of the great temple, which was in the city of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest, and of two wooden buildings which were on its summit, together with their size. The Mexicans called the tumuli teocalli, from the name of one of their gods. Teocalli means temple, or house of God. The tumuli of the United States, were designed for the same purposes that the Mexicans were.

Defensive works, mounds, &c. are common in various parts of the state of Missouri. In shape, materials, structure, and dimensions, they correspond with those in other parts of the western country, and were undoubtedly constructed by the same people, who constructed those we have treated of. The number of tumuli or mounds, in the western country, it is confidently believed, exceeds four thousand. They alone demonstrate a population, in former times, no way inconsiderable—and a population settled down, and under the government of laws.

MUMMIES.

In the states of Tennessee and Kentucky, several human bodies have been discovered in caves, by our people, in tolerable conditions of preservation. Those found, had before inhumation, been wrapped up in a kind of blanket, supposed to have been manufactured with the lint of nettles, afterwards with dressed skins, and then

a mat nearly sixty yards in length. They were clad in a beautiful cloth, interwoven with feathers, such as was manufactured by the Mexicans in 1521, at the period of the Spanish conquest. Mr. Haywood, in the 2d volume of his history of Tennessee, gives the following description of two that were found, which we beg leave to insert. "In the year 1811, two human bodies were found in a cave, in the county of Warren. The one was a male, and the other a female. They were entered in baskets made of cane. They were both dislocated at the hip joints, and were placed erect in the baskets. The flesh was entire. Around the female, next to her body was placed a well dressed deer skin. Next to this was placed a rug, very curiously wrought, of the bark of a tree and feathers. The rug was woven into a cloth of a firm texture. The whole of the ligaments of the rug, thus framed of bark, was completely covered by feathers, forming a body of the one eighth of an inch in thickness. The appearance was highly diversified, with green, blue, yellow, and black, presenting diffierent shades of color. when reflected upon by light in different positions. The next covering was an undressed deer skin, around which was rolled a plain shroud, manufactured after the same order as the one manufactured with feathers. The female had in her hand a fan, formed of the tail feathers of a turkey. The points fo these feathers were curiously bound by a buckskin string, well dressed, and were thus closely bound for about an inch from the points. About three inches from the points, they were again bound by another deer skin string, in such a manner, that the fan might be closed or expanded. Her hair was yellowish, and of fine texture. The cave in which she and the male was found, abounded in nitre, alum, copperas, and salts. De Soto in 1539, and 1540, when he visited Florida, and the interior, saw great numbers of these mantles." Pages 163, 164, and 165. In vol. 2, Mr. Haywood at p. 12, remarks: "That caves are very abundant on the sides of the mountains in Tennessee. That many bones of the ancient inhabitants are found in them, and some skeletons in a state of preservation, in the nitrous dirt in them." Again at p. 72, he says; "That in the big bone cave, a scoop-net made of bark thread, a moccasin, and a mat, en-

veloping human bones, were found in saltpeter dirt, six feet below the ground."

The Mexicans, according to Clavigero, and others Spanish writers, made feathered mantles, fans, &c.

A human body was found in the same state, in a similar cave, on the cane branch of Cumberland river. It was three feet below the surface, enveloped in copperas, common earth, and rock, and enclosed in a coffin or basket, made of canes, and shrouded in clothes and skins, similar to the preceding. The hair on the head was brown.

In 1814, a human body was discovered in a saltpetre cave, in the town of Glasgow, in the state of Kentucky, two hundred yards from the entrance, and nine feet below the surface. It was wrapped up in cloth, fabricated of a species of the lilly and papaw, and then with dressed deer skins, the hair being left on the skins. The body was in a sitting posture. The hair on the head was a dark brown, and rather of a fine texture. Most of the flesh was preserved, but it was dried and hardened, being charged with saltpetre, and the carbonate of lime. This subject was presented to Mr. Scudder, by Mr. Bogard of New-York, and it is now to be seen in his museum. It was not an adult.

These bodies when found, had been entered, perhaps, for centuries before the visiting of America by Columbus. They were of a different race from the modern Indians of the United States. Perhaps they belonged to the Toltecan, Acolhuan, or Aztec races, who in succession, arrived in Mexico, conquered, and peopled it. The Toltecans were banished from their country about the year 596, of our era, and arrived in Mexico or Anahuac, as it was called, before the Mexicans came there, about the year 700, having spent 104 years in their journeying. The Acolhuans and Aztecks came afterwards. The identity of the cloth in which the inhumed bodies were wrapped, with that made by the Mexicans in the sixteenth century, would seem to point out to us, that the original seats of some, or all of these people, were in the United States. But we shall pursue the snbject farther, and introduce more evidence.

In one of the saltpetre caves in Kentucky, the body of the Pecari, or Mexican hog, has been found in a good state of preservation.

The Pecari, it is well known, is not a native of Kentucky, or those states bordering the Mississippi. It cannot endure the winters in the regions adjoining that river, much less that of Kentucky. It is an indigene of Mexico, and had been domesticated by the Toltecans and Mexicans. The Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Moheakanneews, Hurons, &c. had no domestic animal except the dog. They were not in the habit of carrying animals from one place to another for shows; nor were they, unless it might have been the Natchez, the ancestors of the Creeks, in the habit of making excursions to Mexico. They had no collections of beasts and birds; but the Mexicans had when visited by the Spaniards in the early part of the sixteenth century. It may be asked, how did the Pecari come to Kentucky? We answer, that it was brought there by some of the Toltecans, Acolhuans, or Mexicans, either for a show, or for the purpose of propagation. All these nations had and spoke one common language. The migrations to Anahuac, or Mexico, as we shall presently show, were made at different, and at distant periods. The whole body of the nation did not emigrate at one, or two, or even three periods. An intercourse must then have subsisted between the different and separate members of this nation, similar, only it was by land which has subsisted between the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and the people of the United States since the colonization. Some of those who had emigrated must then have visited their native country, while others must have gone from home to Mexico, either to see the country or settle in it. Such an intercourse must have existed in the very nature of things. We see such an intercourse practised among us. How many of the New England emigrants have revisited their native land in order to see their near and dear relations and friends? And how many of our people, and this very people, have returned from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, &c. for the same purpose? And can it be questioned but what the Toltecans and Acolhuans practised the same? We answer not. In all ages, and among all nations, a correspondence has been kept up for a longer or shorter time between the colonies and parent states. We speak only of nations that have sent out colonies. Tyre corresponded with Carthage; the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, corresponded with their countrymen who re-

mained beyond the Euphrates; the Greeks corresponded with their colonies in Italy, Sicily, Egypt, &c.; the Romans and the Germans corresponded with their colonies. All the European nations who have planted colonies in America have corresponded with them. In all the instances cited the correspondence was mutual.

Toltecan and Mexican Antiquities.

The Toltecan and Mexican antiquities are more numerous and diversified than those in the United States, consequences of their more recent origin, greater progress in civilization, attainments in the arts, &c. They consist of fortifications, tumuli, tombs, aqueducts, canals, dykes, roads, sculptures, vases, earthen pots, jars, looking-glasses, stone and copper axes, pikes pointed with copper, silver and gold vessels, and other utensils of use and ornament.

The Toltecan and Mexican towns and cities were surrounded with walls of earth or stone, and ditches; most commonly with the former, and other defensive works. These towns were entered by gates. The cities of Mexico, Cholula, Tlascala, &c. were all fortified with walls and towers. The Tlascalans, at the time the Spaniards invaded their country, resided in fortified towns. That side of their country most exposed to the invasions of the Mexicans, was defended by a wall constructed of stone and earth, seven or eight miles in length; it had gates and towers, and was defended by soldiers. The Spaniards invested Mexico for seventy-five days before they took it. All the approaches were fortified, independent of the wall surrounding it. The great temple in the city of Mexico was enclosed with a stone wall, the stones of which were laid in lime mortar. The enclosure contained enough of ground for five hundred houses; it was entered by gates which were opened and shut on suitable occasions. Battlements, turrets, and other defensive works were appended to the wall. But, as enough has been said on the subject of fortifications, we shall not detain the reader any longer with them; merely refering him for farther information to the Abbe Clavigero, and some other Spanish authors of an earlier date.

TUMULI.

These consisted of three kinds, round, semiglobular, and square, or pyramidal; they were large and small. The former were composed of three, four or five square or oblong bodies, of which the higher was less in amplitude than the lower. They had no hollow or cavity, unless it might have been in some few instances, but were solid masses of earth.

The great tumulus, or temple of Mexico, which was mostly destroyed by the Spaniards at the reduction of that city in the year 1521, consisted of five bodies, or terraces, which rose one above another to the height of one hundred and fourteen feet, or upwards, exclusive of two towers which stood on the summit, which were each fifty-six feet high, and which gave a perpendicular elevation of one hundred and seventy feet, or more. The base was about three hundred and thirty-four feet in length, and about two hundred and eighty feet in breadth, and contained two acres and some perches of ground. The second terrace was about fourteen feet shorter, and about the same number of feet narrower than the first. The third was about the same number of feet shorter and narrower than the second; the fourth and fifth decreased in the same ratio. The space between each terrace was sufficiently broad for three or four men to walk abreast all around. The ascent to the summit was on the south side, and consisted of one hundred and fourteen steps, each being about one foot high. Each step consisted of one or more well formed stones; the ascent, or stair-way, was not continuous, but was divided into as many parts as there were terraces; so that, after ascending to the top of the first terrace, it was necessary to advance around the space between the first and second terraces, in order to ascend to the third, and so of the rest. The summit was a plain about two hundred and seventy-eight feet in length, and two hundred and twenty-four in breadth, paved with flat stones.

This tumulus, or temple, was enclosed by a stone wall very thick, and eight feet in height, crowned with battlements, and ornamented with many stone figures in the shape of serpents; the stones of which the wall was made were laid in lime mortar; the wall had

four gates looking to the four cardinal points; over each gate there was an arsenal filled with offensive and defensive armour; the space or enclosure between the wall and the temple was paved, and was sufficiently large for a town of five hundred houses.

The towers already mentioned were fifty-six feet high each, and stood at the eastern extremity of the upper plain. Each tower was divided into three parts; the lower part of each was constructed of stone laid in lime mortar, and the middle and upper parts of wood, very well wrought and painted. In the space or enclosure between the wall and temple, there were upwards of forty tumuli of smaller dimensions; the sacrifices were usually made on the area of the upper plain of the great temple; this temple was mostly constructed of earth. Besides the great tumulus, or temple, and the small tumuli in the enclosure, there were many others in the city of Mexico; but few or none of these now remain, having been leveled by the conquerors. The preceding are taken from M. Clavigero's History of Mexico.

Several of the mounds in the United States are surrounded with walls and ditches having entrances. The reader will remember that we have already said that there were six tumuli near the defensive works on Paint creek in Ohio, surrounded with a parapet and ditch, one near the works at Marietta, and four at Licking, in the same state, all enclosed with parapets and ditches. Mr. Haywood, the historian of Tennessee, observes that many of the mounds in that state were enclosed with ditches and walls. Pavements were not uncommon in Mexico; the remains of several have been discovered in some of our western states. On a supposition that the city of Mexico had been deserted for some ages, the pyramidal structures would have had a resemblance to the two groups at Kahokia. The dwellings of the inhabitants would have mouldered away, and nothing would have remained but the mounds. There may have been a large town at Kahokia, and the mounds may be the only vestiges remaining.

Not far from the great temple there was a huge mound of earth, called by the Mexicans *Huitzompan*, in the form of a half pyramid, one hundred and fifty-four feet long at its base, with a breadth somewhat less. The ascent to the plain upon the top, was by a stair-

case of thirty steps. Upon this plain were erected, about four feet asunder, more than seventy very long beams bored from top to bottom. Through these holes sticks were passed across from one beam to another; upon each of these sticks a certain number of heads were strung, or suspended, by the temples; at each end of the mound there was a small tower, which appeared to have been made only of skulls and lime. Upon the steps of the ascent of the staircase, or ascent leading to the top, there was a head betwixt every stone.—Clavigero.

The temple, or tumulus of Quetzalcoatl, in the city of Mexico, alone differed from the rest in structure, it being round or circular; the others were all quadrangular erections, that is square structures of earth.—Clavigero.

The tumulus of Quetzalcoatl resembled the great mound on Big Grave creek in Virginia; that near Circleville, in Ohio, and the lesser of the two great mounds at Kahokia, and some others which we have designated in the western states.

The temples, or tumuli of *Tezcuco*, *Cholula*, and *Teotihuacan*, were very celebrated at the time of the conquest in 1521. Bernal Diaz says, and he was an eye witness, that the stairs of the temple of Tezcuco had one hundred and seventeen steps, and that of Cholula one hundred and twenty.

All the old Spanish historians speak with wonder of the number of temples, or tumuli, at Cholula. Cortes, the conqueror, says, that from the top of one temple he counted more than four hundred. See Clavigero's Hist. of Mexico.

The Mexican temples, or mounds of large dimensions, were generally of a pyramidal form, rising, not by steps, but by a succession of four or five lofty terraces. Buildings were erected on their summits. The access to the summit was by a grand staircase on the outside. The kings, nobles, and priests, were buried in places constructed within them; oblations were offered on the summits.

The most remarkable of the temples still remaining, are those of Teotihuacan, Cholula, and Papantla. The first is situated in the vale of Mexico, about eight leagues north-east of the city of Mexico, in a beautiful plain, called the path of the dead, where there are two which are very large, and surrounded by hundreds of

smaller ones, forming streets or avenues in straight lines from north to south, and from east to west. Each side of the base of the largest measures six hundred and eighty-two feet; the base comprises an area of ten acres two roods and twenty-eight perches of land, which are two acres two roods and some perches more of land than the base of the grand pyramid in Egypt covers. The perpendicular height is one hundred and eighty feet. Its cubical contents exceed one million five hundred thousand yards. All this earth was brought from a short distance by men, without the aid of beasts of burden, for the Toltecans, Acolhuans, and Mexicans, had none of these. Many thousand men must have been employed for years in the labor and structure of this enormous pile of earth so very useless. This mound, it is supposed, was erected by the Toltecans, in the eighth century of our vulgar era. The smaller tumuli at this place, are not above thirty feet in perpendicular elevation. Some have supposed these to have been the tombs of the chiefs; their purposes were, it is likely, the same as those of the great tumuli. Sacrifices, on ordinary occasions, and other oblations, were offered on them.

All the tumuli of Teotihuacan are constructed of earth, and must have cost immense labor during a succession of ages. But the greatest and most celebrated of all these pyramidal structures, is the tumulus of Cholula, which at a distance has the appearance of a natural hill covered with vegetation. Its perpendicular height is one hundred and eighty feet, according to some accounts, and one hundred and seventy-seven according to others. Each side of its base is one thousand four hundred and forty feet, according to one account, and one thousand four hundred and sixteen according to another account. It has four great stages or stories. Its sides are exactly with the meridian, and the other points north and south, east and west. It covers about forty-eight acres of land, agreeable to one of the dimensions of its base, and some less, agreeable to the other. It is built of brick and earth in alternate layers. The Spaniards have erected a chapel on the platform or summit.

The road made a few years ago from Puebla to Mexico, was carried through the first terrace, which laid open a square room in the interior built of bricks, and supported by cypress beams. The

bricks were stepped over each other, the upper overreaching the lower, so as to meet and form a kind of Gothic arch; a mode of structure not uncommon among the ancient Egyptians and Hindoos. This room had no door or outlet, but contained two human skeletons, several idols in basalt, and a number of curiously varnished and painted vases. See M. D. Humbolt's travels in Mexico.

We have occasionally interspersed remarks; it will be seen that we have adopted the same course in relation to extracts and separate passages, taken from the history of Mexico by the Abbe Clavigero. We shall have to pursue a similar course with regard to the subsequent extracts we shall make from these and other writers.

The pyramid of Papantla, which was discovered only about the year 1780 by some Spanish hunters, is more tapering than any other monument of the kind known, being only about eighty feet broad at the base, and sixty-five feet in perpendicular height. It is built entirely of hewn stone, of an extraordinary size and regular shape. There are three staircases leading to the top. This pyramid is covered with hieroglyphical sculptures and small niches, to the number of three hundred and eighteen, cut in its sides, and arranged with great symmetry. These sculptures are supposed to have reference to the signs of the zodiac. Iron, or copper instruments must have been used in making these sculptures. The Mexicans were possessed of the art of tempering copper, so that it answered nearly the same purpose as tempered steel. The sides of the pyramid of Papantla face the four cardinal points.

Near Ceuernavac, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco, there is another of these stone temples which is square at its base, and rises by a series of platforms to its summit, each of the squares of its base measuring seventy-five feet. The entire structure is made of wrought stones, fitted and adjusted to each other, so that the whole constitutes a strong, solid, and durable work. The Peruvians fitted the stones which they used in their temples, palaces, and other edifices, in the same manner.

OBSERVATIONS.

Tumulose structures are to be seen at this day in every province of the Mexican empire, and westwardly and north-westwardly of

that empire to the gulf of California, the rivers Gila, Colerado, &c. on quitting the vale of Mexico they, however, seem to decrease in numbers and magnitude. Here, then, we may reasonably conclude, that the nation had attained its achme in civilization and the arts. Here the densest and most numerous population was collected. Here was the seat of the most opulence. In the ancient states of Egypt, of Babylon, of Persia, of Greece, of Carthage, and of Rome, the most splendid temples, pyramids, amphitheatres, and other public edifices, were erected in the capitols, and those other places containing the greatest population and wealth. The same takes place in modern Europe, and in our own country.

In the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio, which appear to have been the original seats of the ancestors of the Toltecans, Acolhuans, Mexicans, &c. tumulose structures, and works of defence, at times approach those of Mexico, in numbers, magnitudes, and grandeur of design. We allude to those at Kahokia, Paint creek, Circleville, Licking, Marietta, Big Grave creek, &c. The mode of structure is the same if we exclude the stone pyramids. In both regions we find square and round mounds or temples. In both regions the defensive works are round, square, and irregular, and in some instances made of stone.

CONTRASTS.

The great temple of Teotihuacan has in its outlines a resemblance to that of Belus, which was at Babylon. The latter, according to Herodotus, was a square tower, built in the form of a pyramid. Every one of its sides at its base measured six hundred and sixty feet. Its height was about the same. Around the outside there was a winding passage (stairway,) from the bottom to the top, sufficiently broad to permit carriages to pass each other. (By this we understand space or room enough for a carriage road. Carriages never ascended or descended the passage spoken of by Herodotus. He speaks figuratively.) It had the appearance of eight square towers built one above another, and gradually decreasing to the top of the building. According to another account, the ascent to the summit was by stairs on the outside, in a sloping direction, and of a spiral form. The latter account is the more probable.

The temple of Belus, it is likely, was constructed of earth, and faced with brick laid in cement. The chapels, or apartments of the priests, were in the different stories, or terraces, and on the outside. On the summit there was an observatory. The accounts given us by Herodotus, are in general greatly exaggerated. It is not at all probable, that the temple of Belus was six hundred and sixty feet high, although it may have been six hundred and sixty feet in length, at its base on every side. He tells us, that the walls of Babylon were three hundred and sixty feet high, and eighty-seven feet broad, and that the city was sixty miles in circumference; that Thebes, the ancient capitól of Egypt had one hundred gates, and that ten thousand soldiers could issue out of each gate on an emergency, which would imply a population of seven or eight milions, upwards of five times as many inhabitants as London now contains. Such accounts loose most of their credit, and ought to be received with great allowance. Thebes might have impressed Herodotus with wonder, and so might New-York, a person from the country who had never seen a place larger than Albany. But after making every reasonable deduction for his description of the temple of Belus; we may conclude that it might have, in some respects, surpassed that of Tecotihuacan. The temple of Cholula must have had towers on the plain of its summit. These, had they been proportionally higher than those of the great temple of Mexico, would have given it a perpendicular elevation of two hundred and sixty feet.

Tombs in Mitli.

In the Mexican province of Oaxaca, which is situated to the south-east of the city of Mexico, are many remains of ancient Mexican structures. The most remarkable are at San Antonio de los Cues, a populous place, on the road from Orizaba to Guaxaca, and at a village named Mitli. In this last mentioned place, which was formerly called Miguitlan, (a word signifying in the Mexican language sadness,) are the ruins of an extensive palace, constructed over the tombs of the kings, and to which the sovereigns used to retire for some time, on the death of a son, a wife, or a mother. This palace, or rather sepulchre, consists

of three edifices placed symmetrically, in a very romantic situation. The principal structure, which is in the best preservation, is nearly one hundred and thirty-one feet in length, and the distribution of the apartments, bears a strong analogy to what has been remarked by the French Savans, in the monuments of Egypt. A stair formed in a pit, leads down to a subterraneous apartment, which is eighty-eight feet in length, and twenty-six in breadth, and which, as well as the exterior walls of the edifice, is covered with ornaments, such as meanders, labyrinths, &c. and some of which are in Mosaic of small porphyry stones. Several curious paintings have been found in these ruins, representing warlike trophies, and sacrifices; but the most striking object is a vast hall, of which the ceiling is supported by six porphyry columns about sixteen feet in height. The columns bear strong marks of the infancy of the arts, having neither base nor capital, but a contraction of the upper part. See Humboldt's travels.

Comparative views of the Mounds of Europe, Asia, &c.

Those found in Europe most deserving of attention, are in Ireland, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Poland, Russia, and Turkey. It is not our intention to enter into long details, but barely to adduce some examples, in order to compare them with the American, and deduce the relative conditions of society and the arts upon both continents, at different and distant periods.

In Ireland mounds are scattered over the island. The tumulus at New-Grange in the county of Meath, is the most remarkable. Its base covers about two acres of land, while its height is over seventy feet, and its circumference at its apex, about three hundred. It is founded on a vast collection of stones covered with gravel and earth.

In Scotland and Wales, the barrows are in general made of loose stones, and are known by the name of cairns. The Moheakanneews, Agoneaseah, and other hunting nations that resided in the United States at the time of the colonization, and subsequently raised heaps of stones over some of their chiefs. There used to be one in the northern part of the county of Schoharie, which con-

tained at least, one hundred loads of stones heaped promiscuously. The Agoneasean road, leading from Icanderago to Schoharie, passed by it.

In the links of Sandwick, one of the Orkney islands, there are a great many round barrows; some formed entirely of earth, and others of stone covered with earth. These barrows usually contained two tiers of coffins.

Numerous barrows are scattered through various parts of England, but particularly in the Downs of Wiltshire, and Derbyshire. They vary greatly in size, but are usually of a conical form, and constructed of earth. Many have been opened, and found to contain skeletons, urns, ashes, beads, and other relicts. At Aveberry, a small village in the county of Wilts, are remarkable remains consisting of vast numbers of barrows. There was also a temple, constructed of large unhewn stones. Aveberry is suppossed to have been the grand metropolitan of the Druids. The tumuli of Ireland and Great Britain, are very ancient, and seem to have been constructed by the Celts before the Romans, Saxons, and Normans conquered them.

The English tumuli, according to the opinion of some, were constructed for twofold purposes; cemeteries and watch-towers. See Edinburgh Encylopedia, article Mound.

The state of society and of the arts, was far less improved among the Celtic nations in the time of Julius Cæsar, than it was among the Mexicans in the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards first came among them. The laws and police were also far less perfect. Cæsar informs us, that Gaul and Britain were divided into a great number of petty states. Other Roman authors say, that in Gaul alone, there were three hundred independent states. Agriculture was in its lowest state, the country was mostly overspread with woods, the roads were very bad. The Romans had to open new roads through the woods, from state to state. The Gauls were farther advanced in improvements than the south Britains, and these again more so than the north Britains, and Hibernians. The Britains painted their bodies and faces like the Indians of North America, of Tartar descent. The Gauls and Britains, were not only ignorant of letters, but also of hieroglyphicks. The former resided

in small cottages covered with bark, or thatched with straw. The latter in huts like our Indian wigwams. The Mexicans had established a state of greater extent, than the islands of Great Britain, and Ireland. They had many towns and cities, temples, and roads. They had bridges, aqueducts, canals, dikes, &c. They had a sovereign, and were under the empire of laws. These laws had been collected, arranged, and formed into a system. They were recorded in hieroglyphical characters.

In Europe, civilization and the arts were first cultivated in Greece. The Phœnicians introduced them about fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. From thence, they were carried into Italy and Sicily, by Greek colonies. These communicated them to the Romans, as the latter did to the Celtic nations. The arts travelled westwardly, and northwardly from Italy, but not much beyond the Danube and Rhine, and the Picts wall, till long after the downfall of the Roman empire. Civilization, and the arts progress slowly. We cannot boast of a high civilization. Our progenitors, at the time the northern barbarians overturned the Roman empire of the west, were not much better informed, or much more civilized, than the Winnebagos, or Naudowesies are at this day; if we exclude a few who resided on the borders of the empire, and these it is probable, were much in the same condition that the Cherokees and Creeks are now in.

"The Danish, Swedish, Polish, and Russian tumuli, are also constructed of earth, and are generally of a conical or pyramidical form. Some are very large, and bespeak amazing labor, and no small degree of art." See Edin. Encyclopedia.

Mounds are frequently met with in the steppes of Asiatic Tartary. They resemble those of Russia, &c.

The state of society among the Scandinavians, Russians, and Tartars, was in general less advanced than it was among the Celtic nations. Many of the Tartar nations at this day, are in a condition similar to that of the Naudowesies, Winnebagos, and Chepawyans.

The tumuli, or mounds of Asia Minor, though less stupendous than some of those of Mexico, are sufficiently grand to excite the admiration of all who have seen them. One of the most renowned

of these, is the tomb of Alyattes, king of Lydia, and father of Crœsus, which stands in the midst of several others, on the banks of the lake Gygaeus, where the burial place of the Lydian princes is situated. Crœsus lived about 550 years before the Christian era, and was cotemporary with Cyrus the great. The surrounding tumuli are of various dimensions, some of them tower to such a height, as to appear at a short distance like hills, but they are all greatly overtopped by that of Alyattes, which is reared on a lofty base, about three quarters of a mile in circumference, which rises to the height of two hundred feet. All these tumuli are covered with green turf, and still retain their conical form, without the smallest sinking in of their summits.

In Greece, in early times it was customary to raise a large mound of earth over the ashes of heroes, and illustrious persons. See Homer's Iliad, p. 23, also 310. Pope's translation.

In Egypt, the tumulus or mound of earth, in the lapse of time was transformed into the lofty pyramid of stone.

The tumulus of Alyattes, approaches the nearest in magnitude to that of Cholula, of any now known. Its circumference at its base, is one thousand, three hundred and twenty yards, and its elevation, two hundred feet. That of Cholula in Mexico, has a circumference at its base of one thousand nine hundred and twenty yards, and a perpendicular elevation of one hundred and eighty feet. The Lydian is round: the Mexican is square. The base of the Mexican, covers about forty-seven acres of ground. The base of the Lydian, were it square, would cover about twenty-two, which would not be half as much ground. But its circular form would lessen the surface of its base so much, that it would not perhaps be far over one third of that of the Mexican. The solid contents of the Mexican, more than tripple those of the Lydian. Again, the Mexican tumulus is on a plain, and the Lydian on a lofty base, which would still farther diminish its solid contents. The magnitude, shape, structure, and materials of the Mexican, all surpass those of the Lydian.

The Lydians had no pyramidical structures of stone. The Mexicans had. Those of Papantla and Ceuernavac, are solid stone structures, of pyramidal form. The stones are dressed, and

adapted the one to the other. These structures show an acquaintance with architecture, and the sculptures on them, with the fine arts.

By comparing the Lydian and Mexican structures with one another, an opinion may in some measure, be deduced of the comparative state of society, and of the arts, in these two nations at the times these structures were reared; but it would not be so favorable to the Lydians, as we might expect from the pompous accounts given of them by ancient writers, and which certain of the moderns have copied, and commented upon, with no ordinary degree of exultation. The truth is, there could not have been much difference between the state of society, and the arts, of these two nations, at the times these tumuli were constructed. The state of of the arts, shows in a measure the state of society, and the degree of civilization in a nation. In Europe, these have been traced from the Augustine age to the present time, and all the different stages marked. Among the Romans, the arts flourished most in the Augustine age—after that they declined. The Augustine age was succeeded by that of the Antonines. Then followed the Constantine and Theodosian ages—the latter ended in the barbarous age. The Gothic succeeded the barbarous age, while this has been supplanted by the present. Each of these ages is strongly marked. From the Augustine to the barbarous age, there was a gradual decline of the arts, and of the state of society. Each age is known by its architecture, and the state of society must have conformed to this. From the barbarous age to the present, there has been a gradual rise of the arts, proportioned to the progress made by society in civilization. Every department of the arts announces this. The arts advance, or retrograde with society.

The famous temple of Belus at Babylon, about which we have such splendid accounts, but always couched in general terms, seems to have resembled the great Mexican temple at Teotihuacan, both in structure and dimensions. Both were square solid fabricks. Both resembled several towers placed one on the top of the other. The temple of Belus consisted of eight platforms, or terraces, rising one above the other, and decreasing in extent as they rose. The temple of Teotihuacan, has five of these terraces or platforms, which

rise and decrease in a similar manner. Here then we have evidence, by comparison of the state of the arts among the Babylonians, and it could not have much exceeded that of the Lydians their neighbors. Again, the Chaldean computation of time, was scarcely more perfect than that of the Mexicans. The latter had an almost exact knowledge of the duration of the year. They intercalated at the end of their great cycle, or period of one hundred years. The Abbe Clavigero, says; "Their year consisted of three hundred and sixty days. The state then of society, and of the arts among the Chaldeans, were not greatly before those of the Mexicans. It may be said, that the Chaldeans were acquainted with letters—this we grant. The Mexicans were acquainted with hieroglyphical writing, and not picture writing, as has been asserted by Dr. Robertson, De Paw, and others, and this is but one step behind the other.

Toltecan and other Emigrations.

The first peopling of Anahuac (Mexico,) is shrouded in utter darkness. All the historians, however, of the Toltecans, Chechemecans, Acolhuans, Mexicans, and Tlascalans, are agreed upon two points: First, that their ancestors came from the north; and second, that the country was occupied by savage tribes of hunters when they arrived.

The Toltecans, it appears from the same authors, were the oldest civilized nation of Anahuac. According to their annals, they were banished about the year five hundred and ninety-six of our era, from Huehuetapallan, a country situated to the north-west of Mexico.

We shall remark in this place, that the Abbe Clavigero uses the words north-west and north when speaking of the Toltecans. This induces us to suppose that the interpreters of the Mexican hieroglyphical writings have fallen into mistakes in the translation, or that those who have copied from those translations may have miscopied. This obtains additional weight when we find that they go on and say, "after their banishment they (the Toltecans,) journied to the south, continuing but a short time in a place;" that they continued in this wandering aud unsettled state always advancing southwardly for the

space of one hundred and four years, when they arrived at Tollantzinco, fifty miles west of the city of Mexico." Now it is evident that if Huehuetapallan had been situated to the north-west of Mexico, and beyond the Colerado of the west, and they had journied from it always to the south, or southwardly, for one hundred and four years, they would never have arrived at Tollantzinco, but at some place on the gulf of California many hundred miles to the west. In another place the Abbe Clavigero says, "all the historians of the Toltecans, Chechemecans, Acolhuans, and Mexicans, agree that their ancestors came from the north." The Mississippi and Ohio valleys which abound most in works of defence, mounds, &c. are northwardly of the city of Mexico, and we suspect these are the regions alluded to. From the valley of the Mississippi there are two routs to Mexico, the one through the province of Texas, and the other through the steppes of Missouri and Arkansaw, to the Rio del Norte. The latter is the most practicable. Our people who travel to Mexico from St Louis, take the latter route and pass through St. Fee on the Rio del Norte. Hence, it may be inferred that the Toltecans pursued the same as far as the latter river, halting from time to time in the most favored places; the journeying would in the main be southwardly, although very indirect. By adopting this supposition, the contradictions in the text may be in some respects reconciled. The Toltecans when they set out had no particular place in view; hence they crossed the Rio del Norte and proceeded to the Colerado of the west, and then followed that river down to or near its mouth, &c. The others followed their footsteps. Hue-hue-ta-pal-lan, Ama-quem-e-can, Teoa-col-huacan, and Aztlan, adjoined each other; the same people dwelt in these states. They could not have been north-west of the Colorado, though they might have been north-east. That they were, and northwardly from Mexico, seems highly probable; the balance of evidence seems to favor the latter opinion. But to return—the Toltecans after their banishment journeyed to the south, remaining but a short time in a place; that they continued in this wandering and unsettled state, always advancing southwardly, for the space of one hundred and four years, when they arrived at a place to which

they gave the name of Tollantzinco, situated about fifty miles west of the city of Mexico.

About twenty years after their arrival they removed westwardly about forty miles, and founded the city of Tollan, or Tula, between the years 715 and 720. The era of the Toltecan kingdom bears date with the foundation of Tula. It subsisted to the year 1052, when it was destroyed, and the nation almost obliterated from the face of the earth by famine, pestilence, &c.

The Toltecans were the most renowned of all the people of Anahuac for their superior civilization, and their skill in the arts; they lived in society, and were collected into cities under the government of kings and laws; they cleared land, cultivated the earth, raised corn, grew cotton, and other products; they fabricated cloth, and worked several kinds of metals, such as copper, silver, gold, &c. They could cut the hardest stones.

During the time their kingdom existed they multiplied exceedingly; they built many cities, made many roads, and spread themselves over the vale of Mexico and many other places of Anahuac. Many of the tumuli, or pyramids, which are now in Mexico were reared by the Toltecans. The lofty tumulus of Cholula was constructed by this people in honor of their God, Quetzalcoatl. After the destruction of the Toltecan kingdom, and the dispersion of the remnant of the nation, it appears from the same annals that the land of Anahuac remained almost entirely depopulated for the space of one hundred years, until the arrival of the Chechemecans.

The Chechemecans, like the Toltecans, who preceded them, came from the north. Their native country, of which we are ignorant, was called Amaquemecan; their motive for leaving their country is unknown. It appears from the same annals that they arrived in the vale of Mexico about the year 1153, and about eighteen months after their departure, and that they established themselves at a place called Tenayuca, six miles north of the city of Mexico. The Chechemecans upon their arrival formed alliances with the Toltecans. In the course of time both nations became amalgamated, and constituted but one people.

A few years after the arrival of the Chechemecans in the Mexican vale, a numerous body of Acolhuans arrived from Teoacolhua-

can, a country neighboring to, and not far distant from the kingdom of Amaquemecan. The Acolhuans were the most civilized of all the nations which were in Anahuac since the Toltecans.

Soon after this the Toltecans, and such of the Chechemecans as had united in husbandry and sedentary habits, united themselves with the Acolhuans, and thereby formed only one nation. Hence the nation, or union of three people from one, assumed the name of Acolhui, and the kingdom Acolhuacan. The Acolhuic emigrants, it is supposed, arrived in the kingdom of Acolhuacan after the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The Na-hu-at-la-cas, or ancestors of the founders of the famous city of Mexico, likewise originally came from the north, and consisted of seven tribes. These tribes were the So-chi-mil-cas, the Chal-chese, the Tapanecas, the Colhuas, the Tla-hui-cas, the Tlas-ca-lans, and the Mexicans. The origin of all these tribes was Aztlan, from whence came the Mexicans, or some other country contiguous thereto, and inhabited by the same people or nation. All the historians represent them as coming originally from one and the same country, and as speaking the same language. These tribes did not arrive in the land of Anahuac at one time, but at different times. The Toltecans, and all the other tribes that came after them, spoke the same language, that is, the Mexican.

The Aztecks, or Aztecas, who were the last people that settled in Anahuac, lived until about the year 1160 in the country of Aztlan, situated to the north of the gulf of California. The cause of the abandonment of their country is like that of those who preceded them, except as to the Toltecans, altogether unknown. In their migration the Aztecks crossed the Colerado, which discharges itself into the gulf of California at latitude thirty-two degrees and thirty minutes, several hundred miles above its mouth, and afterwards the Gila, which falls into the latter river. The country, therefore, from whence the Aztecks came, must have been beyond latitude [thirty-five degrees, and upwards of sixteen hundred miles north-north-west of the city of Mexico. We say north-north-west, because they approached that city in that direction after they had passed the Colerado. There are two rivers which the Spaniards have called by this name; the west and the south. The former

runs into the gulf of California, and the latter into the Mexican sea. The first has its source in the Rocky Mountains, in north latitude forty-one or forty-two degrees, and pursues a south-westwardly course nearly or quite seven hundred miles. It was this river that the Aztecks crossed in their march to Anahuac.

After having passed the Colerado, the Aztecks directed their march to the south-east, and came to the Gila, a tributary of the Colerado, where they halted for many years. The Gila rises between latitudes thirty-three and thirty-four degrees north, and joins the Colerado very near its mouth. The Gila has its source also in the Rocky Mountains, but more to the south than the Colerado. The remains of great edifices which the Aztecks constructed while they continued there, are still to be seen on the Gila as monuments of their skill and industry.

From thence they decamped, and resumed their march to the south-south-east, and halted in north latitude twenty-nine degrees, at a place more than two hundred and fifty miles distant from the city of Chihuahua, thirteen hundred miles from Mexico towards the north-north-west. This place is now known to the Spaniards by the name of Case Grandi, on account of an immense edifice still existing which was built by the Aztecks. This edifice is constructed on the plan of those of New Mexico; that is, consisting of three floors, with a terrace above them, and without any entrance to the under floor. Case Grandi is four hundred and forty-five feet in length from north to south, and two hundred and seventy-six feet in breadth from east to west. It was constructed of clay and stone, and had several stories and apartments. The surrounding plain exceeds a square league, and is covered with broken earthen pitchers and pots, prettily painted in red and white. This edifice must have been a fortress, as it is defended on one side by a mountain, and on the other by a wall, now in a very ruinous condition, seven feet thick. Several kitchen utensils have been found at this place; such as earthen pots, jars, dishes, and little looking-glasses made of the stone itzli. This edifice was, as has been remarked, constructed of stone and earth, and covered with lime mortar, upwards of six hundred years ago.

From Case Grandi the Aztecks directed their march south-east-

wardly to Huicolhuacan, at present called Guliacan, on the gulf of California, in twenty-four degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, where they stopped three years. From Huicolhuacan, journeying many days to the east, they came to Chicomoztoc, where they halted.

Hitherto all the tribes had travelled in a body, but here from some cause they separated and left the Mexicans. The place where they separated is supposed to have been near the modern city of Zacatecas, as about twenty miles south of that city there are the remains of a large edifice, which, according to the tradition of the Zapotecas, was the work of the Aztecks, or Mexicans, in their march through their country. The Mexicans remained here nine or ten years.

Proceeding from Chicomoztoc, in the country of the Zapotecas, towards the south, the Mexicans came into the maritime province of Colina, and from thence to Zacatula, where turning to the eastward, they arrived at Malinalco, not far from the valley of Tolula; and afterwards, directing their march towards the north, they arrived at the city of Tula in the year 1196.

In their peregrination, after crossing the Colerado, it appears that the Mexicans travelled upwards of one thousand miles more than was necessary, in order to reach Anahuac, or Mexico, as it has since been called.

After a residence at Tula of nine years, the Mexicans removed to other places not far distant, until in the year 1216 they arrived at Zampanco, a considerable city in the vale of Mexico.

In the year 1325 they founded the city of Mexico, which soon became the capitol of an extensive empire.

From the sixth to the thirteenth century, population appears to have rolled from the north towards the south. From the regions on the other side of the Colerado, came those nations who overran and conquered Anahuac, or Mexico.

From the foregoing it appears that the Toltecans arrived in Mexico about the year 700; that their kingdom subsisted to 1052; that the Chechemecas arrived about the year 1153; that the first Nahuatlacas arrived about the year 1178; that the Acolhuas, or Acolhuans, arrived towards the end of the twelfth century; that

the Mexicans arrived at Tula in the year 1196, at Zompanco in 1216, and at Chapoltepec in 1245. The Aztecks, or Mexicans, were thirty-six years in marching from Aztlan to Tula, nine miles from the city of Mexico.

At the time of the arrival of the Mexicans, the country was divided into many small states, and contained a considerable population which was sedentary. The inhabitants of most of these small states spoke the Mexican or Anteck language. The Mexicans were at first feeble, and had to submit to vassalage. By degrees they rose into consequence and power. They founded the city of Mexico, drained the marshes in its neighborhood, made roads, constructed aqueducts, &c. They contracted alliances with the kings of Acolhua, &c. subverted several states, compelled others to pay tribute, and menaced the liberties of all. The Mexican empire at the time of the Spanish conquest in 1521, including the kingdom of Acolhua and the little republic of Tlascala, contained about one hundred and thirty thousand square miles.

M. de Humboldt, who appears to have been unacquainted with the fact of there being mounds and fortifications in our western states resembling those of the Mexicans, after speaking of the migrations to Mexico, between the seventh and thirteenth centuries, of the cultivation of the ground, the structure of cities, the making of roads, dykes, canals, pyramids, or mounds, and fortifications, the fabrication of cloth, the founding of metals, of hieroglyphical writings, &c. &c. by the Toltecans and Mexicans, exclaims, "Where is the source of that cultivation? Where is the country from which these people issued? Tradition and hieroglyphics name Huehuetapallan, Tallan, and Aztlan, as the residence of these nations. There are no remains at this day of any ancient civilization of the human species to the north of the river Gila, or in the northern regions travelled through by Hearne, Fiedler, and McKensie."

The Abbe Clavigero assures us that the Mexicans offered human and other sacrifices on the summits of their temples in the city of Mexico, in 1520 and 1521. He speaks of the same things being practised in other parts of the empire. Several Spaniards and Mexicans in their service were sacrificed in the course of the siege. He derived his information from Diaz, Torquemada, and other old

Spanish authors. Diaz served in the Spanish army at the siege of Mexico, and was an eye witness. The Mexicans had their priests, altars, and temples.

Various conjectures and opinions have been formed concerning the origin of the Toltecans, Acolhuans, and Mexicans. Some, and among others, authors of deserved celebrity, have supposed that they were direct from Asiatic Tartary, because they came from the north-west. Humbolt is of opinion that the Toltecans were of Hunnic origin, because the era of their migration corresponds with the dissolution of the Hunnic empire in Upper Asia, and the subsequent migration of a portion of that nation to the north. But however the eras may agree, this supposition proves nothing. The Toltecans were not of Hunnic origin. The Acolhuans and Mexicans were the same people. They had the same language, manners, customs, and laws, and came from the same country, or other countries contiguous thereto. The difference in the physiognomy alone would refute the supposition. The Huns belonged to the Mongolian race, which is different from the Mexican or any other in America. The circumstance of their approaching the vale of Mexico from the north-west can have very little weight; and this is the strongest evidence given. Nations in their emigrations have not always had fixed places of destination in view. All their movements have been controlled by causes and circumstances. The Gothic, the Hunnic, the Vandalic, and Ottoman nations had no particular countries or places of destination in view when they commenced their migrations. The Goths, the Huns, and the Ottomans were forced from their countries; they took up lines of march with their wives and their children, their flocks, and their herds, and retired before their conquerors. The latter pressed them on. The Goths had to pass the Danube, and pitch their camp in Myssia, a province of the eastern Roman empire. The Goths inhabited the Ukraine, a country situated between Poland, Russia, and Turkey. The Ottomans dwelt in Turkestan, a country east of the Caspian sea. The Vandals resided on the shores of the Baltic, and the banks of the Vistula. The seat of the Huns was in Chinese Tartary. It is not our intention to portray the migrations, marches, conquests, and catastrophes of these nations. The Goths in forty

years opened a way with the sword from the shores of the Black sea, on the east, to that part of the Atlantic ocean on the west which laves Spain and Portugal, a distance of two thousand miles. The Vandals in a shorter period traversed Germany, France, and Spain, and crossed the straits of Gibraltar, into Mauritania, and at last settled in Tunis. The Huns, after marching through all Tartary and European Russia, seated themselves in Hungary. The routes pursued by these nations, and particularly those by the Goths and Vandals, were very irregular, and as much so as that of the Toltecans, Chechemecans, Acolhuans, and Mexicans, would have been had they decamped from the banks of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri, and proceeded to the Colerado of the west, and from thence to the river Gila, and the vale of Mexico—which is what we contend. The Americans, in their intercourse with the Spaniards at this time, set out from St. Louis, at the mouth of the Missouri, and travel to St. Fee, on the Rio del Norte. This seems to be the most feasible way to Mexico by land. May not the Toltecans, Chechemecans, Acolhuans, and Mexicans, have pursued the same, or nearly the same way, as far as the Rio del Norte? We answer yes, they may have; and we are of opinion that they did advance from the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri, to those of the Arkansaw, Red, and Rio del Norte, and from those of the latter stream to those of the Colerado and Gila. But it is time to come to a conclusion: we shall therefore close with some remarks and inferences.

From the facts stated, and from the information we have been able to collect on this highly interesting subject, it appears that these fortifications and works commence on the north-east, at or near Black river, at the east end of lake Ontario, and extend south-westwardly to the Arkansaw, and from thence westwardly and south-westwardly to the confines of the Pacific ocean, and from thence south-eastwardly to the vale of Mexico and the adjacent parts. In the United States they are found west of the mountains as far as the lakes, and the vast steppes of the Mississippi and Missouri. The fortifications are of three kinds, round or circular, square, and irregular. They are near water, and generally on commanding ground. They increase in numbers and dimensions as

the way to the valley of the Mississippi. There are three kinds of tumuli or mounds—the round, the semi-globular, and square. They are usually situated without the fortifications. In some instances they are surrounded with parapets and ditches.

The fortifications enclosed villages, towns and cities. There may have been some exceptions. The tumuli were constructed for two fold purposes, temples and cemeteries. In Europe, the practice of inhuming bodies in churches has long prevailed.—The Greeks and Romans, before their conversion to Christianity, had a custom of burying their dead, or depositing their ashes in urns in their temples. Church is only another name for temple. The Pagans had their temples. The Hindoos and Chinese have their pagodas. Temples were never so numerous as churches. The advancement of civilization and the progress of the arts, and we might add, the increase and dissemination of knowledge and correct ideas of Deity and his attributes, have multiplied places of public worship. The ancients supposed that there were superior and inferior gods, and that they resided in particular places. This doctrine pervaded the Pagan world. But Christians have had different ideas and enlarged views. They have supposed, and justly, that there is only one deity, and that he is every where present, and therefore they have multiplied temples or churches. The temple of Belus at Babylon, was like the Mexican temples of Teotihuacan, and Cholula. It was a high place on which sacrifices were offered, and the doctrines of a misterious and bloody superstition practised. The Mexicans sacrificed animals and even men on their temples. The great mound or tumulus at Kahokia in the state of Illinois, resembles the Mexican temples of Teotihuacan and Cholula in its shape, structure and materials, and was reared for the same purpose.

The people who constructed the fortifications or defences and tumuli, were sedentary, not erratic. They depended on the products of cultivation for their subsistence, not on hunting and fishing. They inhabited the regions along and on this side of the Mississippi, long before the arrival of the Moheakanneews, Hurons, and other nations of Tartar origin. This is in a measure demonstrated from the fact that none of these nations had any tradition or other memento concerning these works, or the people who erected them,

which they would have had, had the country been inhabited when they came to it. The Zapotecas, a nation of hunters now residing in New Mexico or New Spain, between the Gila and the vale of Mexico, have to this-day, although upwards of six hundred years have elapsed, a tradition of the Mexican or Azteck emigration through their country.

The defences or fortifications, whether in the vicinity of lakes Ontario and Erie, the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers, or in the vale of Mexico, intermediate or otherwise, were constructed on the same plan and with the same materials. They have the same appearances, differing only in extent, magnitude, and in a few instances in workmanship, consequences of a denser population, more wealth and greater acquirements in the arts.

The round, semiglobular and square mounds or tumuli are alike, differing only in size. The square tumuli with terraces rising one above another like the temple of Belus, are mostly found in Mexico. These however, are few in number, and may rather be considered as improvements in this kind of structure than a different order. In Egypt this species of structure was carried to the highest state of perfection. The pyramid, which is only a different name for the same structure, is a square edifice, diminishing from its base to its apex, by easy gradations. It superceded the tumulus or mound of earth. Similar relics, implements and utensils have been found at most or all of the works which have been examined. The numbers found in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys and the vale of Mexico, have however been greater than elsewhere. The whole seem to have belonged to, and to have been the works of the same nation or race of men. There is no discernable difference, but such as grew out of an improved state of society. The nation or race of men was in a progressive state. The extent, numbers and workmanship of the defences, tumuli, &c. demonstrate this assumption. Those in the Ohio and Mississipi countries surpass all. Here then the nation had attained its achme. This nation first inhabited in the north and then migrated to the south. The defences or fortifications and mounds in the regions between Black river and the Arkansaw, and between the mountains and the steppes of the Missouri and Mississippi and the lakes, are in all probability the most

ancient. Here were the original seats of the nation after it had abandoned the erratic condition. The population in western Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois, and the adjoining parts was the most concentrated and the most dense. The remains in Ohio, and on the Mississippi bottom demonstrate this. The Mississippi bottom was, it is probable, the focus or centre of the greatest population. The mounds at Kahokia, strengthen this induction. There were, undoubtedly, several states which were independent of one another. The Mexican annals mention the countries of Huehuetapallan, Amaquemecan, Teoacolhuacan, Aztlan, &c.—All these countries bordered the one upon the other, and are represented to have been to the north and northwest of Mexico.

The Toltecans, according to the same annals, were banished; all the others seem to have emigrated voluntarily. The Toltecans were then the pioneers. They opened the way and first settled Mexico. They, beyond all doubt, maintained a correspondence with their countrymen in the north. Small colonies or bodies of emigrants must, from time to time, have followed the Toltecans, after they had established themselves in Anahuac, or Mexico. No written memorials would have been preserved of these; only great occurrences attract the notice of historians, especially where literature is confined to a few persons, as was the case with the Toltecans, Mexicans, &c. They had only hieroglyphics, as we have before observed. The way having been opened, establishments having been made, and the fame of the country having reached Huehuetapallan, Amaquemecan, Teoacolhuacan and Aztlan, others must have emigrated, and ultimately the whole nation. These inductions are fortified by the separate and great emigrations of the Chechemecans, Nahuatlacas, Acolhuans and Aztecks. The latter were divided into seven cantons under different leaders, to wit: the Sochimilcas, the Chalchese, the Tapenecas, the Colhuans, the Tlahuicas, the Tlascalans and Mexicans. All these cantons kept together and marched in a body till they came to Chicomoztoc. Here they separated. On their arrival each canton formed an independent state. All these emigrations were subsequent to that of the Toltecans, and were, it is likely, induced for the purpose of bettering their condition.

The human bodies found in the copperas and saltpetre caves in the states of Tennessee and Kentucky; and also the body of the Pecari, or Mexican hog found in a cave in the latter state, seem to point out to us that these states were parts of Huehuetapallan, Amaquemecan, &c. The human bodies were in tolerable preservation, and were shrouded in cloths of the same fabrication as those manufactured by the Mexicans in 1521, at the time of the Spanish conquest. The physiognomy of the bodies was Mexican, not Tartarian. These facts, and we could hardly have stronger ones were we to desire them, announce an identity of origin. The circumstance of the Pecari, is an additional and cogent fact. This animal is an indigene of Mexico, and cannot exist on this side of the Mississippi, unless sheltered and housed during winter. It must therefore have been brought from Mexico by some of the emigrants or travellers, either for propagation, or for a spectacle or show. And it must have been entered in the saltpetre cave, to the end that its body might be preserved from destruction.

The defensive works, the tumuli, the implements of war, &c. the utensils of use and ornament, the cloths, the body of the Pecari, and above all, the human bodies, prove to an almost absolute certainty, that the ancient seats of the Toltecans, Acolhuans and Mexicans, were along and on this side of the Mississippi; and that these seats were in the states of New-York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri; that the seats in New-York and Pennsylvania were broken up and forsaken first, and those in the other subsequently.

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CHAPTER V.

TABULAR VIEWS, &c.

Catalogues of the tribes and clans of the Mo-hea-kan-neew and Huron nations; they are not presented as complete; the time when this might have been done has passed. The colonists of Great Britain, Ireland, and Holland, and their descendants, have not been particular in collecting facts relative to these nations; they despised them, and did not consider them as worthy of their notice beyond interest. Hence the facts which we have gathered are mostly insulated. Hence little more can be done than compare and methodise them. If we should fall into errors, the fault is not to be attributed to us, but to those who have gone before us. In constructing the catalogues we shall have to enumerate the tribes and clans of other states and provinces, since only portions of these nations resided in the state of New-York. Mo-hea-kan-neew, and Huron, are used as generic names.

In order to enable the reader to pronounce, we have divided all the words of difficult pronunciation into syllables. The division, in some instances, may be arbitrary.

MO-HEA-KAN-NEEWS.

Tribes.	*Clans.*
Mick-macks	
Ma-re-chites	
Tar-ra-teens, or Abe-na-quis	
	Pas-sam-ma-quod-dies
	Nor-ridg-e-wocks
	Ken-ne-becks
	Pe-nob-scotts
	A-mos-cog-gins.
	Pis-cat-a-quas.
	Ou-ra-ges.
	Nob-cuss-etts.
	Sa-cos.
	Nuch-a-wan-acks.
Pig-wack-etts	
Coos	
Paw-tuck-etts	
	Paw-tuck-etts.
	Pen-ne-kooks.
	Aga-wo-mes.
	Naam-keeks.
	Scha-kooks.
Mas-sa-chu-setts	
Wam-pa-no-gas, or Paw-kun-naw-kutts	
Nar-ra-gan-setts	
Ni-an-ticks	
Nip-netts, or Nip-mucks	
Nash-a-ways	Po-com-tucks, or Poe-om-tucks
Mo-hea-kan-neews	
Mo-he-gans	
	Mo-he-gans
	Mo-hick-an-ders, or River Indians
	Won-gungs
	Pod-unks
	Na-was

Residence.

Nova Scotia.
New Brunswick.
Maine.
Maine, and New Brunswick.
Upper parts of Kennebeck river, Maine.
On Kennebeck river.
On Penobscot river.

In the east and south parts of New Hampshire.
Vermont, and the western part of New Hampshire.
Essex, and part of Middlesex, in Massachusetts.

In the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Middlesex.
In the territory of Plymouth, Mass. Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket &c.
In Rhode Island, and the neighboring parts of Mass. & Connecticut.
In the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, &c. in the state of Mass.
At Hadley, Deerfield, &c. on Connecticut river.
In the northerly parts of Worcester, &c. Mass.
In Berkshire, Mass. and the adjoining parts of New-York, westwardly to the Hudson.
On and near Connecticut river, in Connecticut, &c.
At Hartford, Windsor, Middlesex, Haddam, &c.
In the same parts.
In East Haddam, Chatham, &c. in Connecticut.
In East Hartford, &c.
On Connecticut river, in latitude forty-one deg. forty-eight minutes.

Tribes.	*Clans.*
	Ne-han-ticks, or Na-ticks
Pequods	
Len-ni Le-nape, or Wo-a-pa-nach-ki	This people formed a confederacy consisting of five tribes
Tribes, or Cantons.	
Ma-hi-can-ni-, or Mohiccons	
	Quin-ni-pi-acks
	Wi-a-ti-acks
	Unk-was
	Mo-hic-cons
	Man-hat-tans
Ca-nar-sees	Ca-nar-ses
Rock-a-ways	Rock-a-ways
Ma-tin-e-cocs	Man-tin-a-cocks
Me-ri-kokes	Me-ri-kokes
Mar-sa-pe-a-gues	Mas-sa-peags.
Se-ca-taugs	Si-ca-tugs
Nis-sa-qua-gues	Nis-sa-qua-gues, or Nip-a-qua-ugs
Sa-tau-kets and Patch-o-gues	Sa-tauk-etts, or Sea-tol-cotts
Shin-e-cocs	Shin-na-cocks, or Shin-e-cocks
Cor-chaugs	Cor-changs, or Cor-chaugs
	Patch-o-gues
Mon-tauks	Mon-tauk-etts
Man-has-setts*	Man-han-setts
Wa-bin-gas Mo-hick-anders, or San-ki-ka–ni	Mo-hick-and-ers, or River Indians
	San-ki-ka-ni
	Min-i-sinks
	Pomp-tons
	Nar-rit-i-congs
	Ca-pi-bin-gas-ses

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*This column is taken from the Hon. Silas Wood's sketch of Long Island.—See page 44. As he had access to the town records, it is presumable that his orthography is nearest the original.

Residence.

At Lyme, and around the mouth of Connecticut river.
In the counties of New London, Middlesex, and Windham, in Ct.

In the states of Connecticut, N. Y. N. J. Penn. and Delaware.

In the western parts of Connecticut, and in the countiess of Dutchess, Putnam, Westchester, New-York, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk, in New-York.
At New Haven, and the adjoining parts in Connecticut.
At Salisbury, &c. do.
At Fairfield, &c. do.
In Dutchess, Putnam, and Westchester, in N. Y. and the contiguous parts of Connecticut.
Manhattan Island, and the southerly part of Westchester, Kings county, &c. on Long Island.
In Jamaica, and Newtown, in Queens county, Long Island, &c.
In Huntingdon, Suffolk county, L. I.
Southerly part of Queens, &c.

In Islip, Suffolk county, L. I.
In Smithfield, Suffolk county, L. I.
In Brookhaven, Suffolk county.
In Southampton, do L. I.
In Easthampton, do do.
On the north side of the island in Suffolk county.
In Suffolk county, at the east end of L. I.
Shelter Island, Suffolk county.

In the counties of Ulster, Orange, and Rockland, in N. Y. and Bergen, Morris, &c. in New Jersey.
In the counties of Rockland, Orange, Ulster, &c. in N. Y. also in Middletown, Weathersfield, Hartford, Windsor, &c. in Ct.
In the counties of Bergen, Essex, and Middlesex, in New Jersey.
At Minisink, &c. in the counties of Orange and Sullivan, N. Y.
In the western part of Bergen, &c. N. J.
In the county of Sussex, N. J.

Tribes.	*Clans.*
	Ga-che-os, or Gach-pas
Mun-si, Min-si, or Munseys	
Wa-na-mi, or U-na-mi	
	Man-taws
	Sa-poo-nies
	U-na-mi
	Me-le-te-cunks
	Nan-tux-ets
Chi-ho-hock-i	
	Chi-ho-hock-i
	Ne-sham-i-nes
	Pas-sa-jonks
	Min-quas
	Con-es-to-gas
	Chugn-u-es.
Sus-que-han-nocks	
Sha-wa-nese, or Shaw-nees	Formerly called Sah-wau-noo
Nan-ti-cokes	Called by the Agoneaseah Skaun-ya-ta-ha-ti-hawk
Co-noys	
Tu-te-lo-es	By the Agoneaseah named Totaly
Pow-ha-tans	
	Ac-co-macks.
	Ac-co-ha-nocks.
	Ap-po-ma-tocks
	Rap-pa-han-nocks
	Ar-ro-wha-tocks
	Qui-yough-co-ha.nocks
	Pa-ta-wo-mekes
	Se-ca-ca-co-nies.
	Wigh-co-com-i-coes
	We-ro-wo-com-i-coes

Residence.

Ibid.

In the states of New York and Pennsylvania, on the upper parts of Delaware river, and thence down that river to the Lehigh.

That part of the state of New Jersey which is south of the Rariton.

In the counties of Burlington, Gloucester, and Huntingdon.

On the shores of the ocean, between Sandy Hook and Cape May, on the east side of Delaware bay.

In Pennsylvania and Delaware.

In the counties of Philadelphia, Delaware, &c. Pennsylvania.

In the county of Montgomery, &c.

In the counties of Chester, and New-Castle, in the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware.

In Lancaster county, Pennsylvania.

On the west side of Susquehanna river and Chesapeake bay.

On the west side of the Susquehanna, and to the north of the Susquehannocks.

In the states of Maryland and Delaware, between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays and the ocean.

The Agoneasean name for Susquehanna was Kau-na-seh-wa-tau-yea.

On the east and west sides of Chesapeake bay, in Virginia. The Nanticocks and Susquehannocks were on the north, and the Manahoacks and Monacans on the west.

On the Appomatux river.

On Rappahannock river.

On James river below Richmond.

On James river, and the river Chickahominy, near Jamestown.

On Potomac river, in the states of Virginia and Maryland.

On the east side of Chesapeake bay.

On York river below the mouth of Mattapony.

Tribes.	*Clans.*
	Chick-a-ha-ma-ni-ans
	Pas-pa-heg-hes
	Taux-en-ents
	Moy-o-wah-cos.
	Kus-car-a-wa-ocks
	Cut-ta-wo-mens
	Piss-a-secks
	O-naw-ma-ni-ents
	Ches-a-peaks
	Nan-sa-munds
	War-ras-squeaks
	No-cotch-tanks
	Chis-ki-acks
	We-a-nocks
	Yough-ta-nunds
	Pow-ha-tans
	Pay-an-ka-tanks
	Nan-taugh-ta-cunds
	Mat-ta-po-ments
	Ac-quin-a-nack-su-acks
	Paw-tux-unts

Residence.
On Chickahominy river.
On James river below the Appomatocks.
On the Potomac below the District of Columbia.
On the east side of Chesapeake bay.
On Rappahannock river.
Do do.
On James river near Jamestown.
On Chesapeake bay.
On Nansamund river.
On the upper parts of Patuxent river.
On the upper parts of York river.
On James river about Richmond.
On Pyankatank river.
On Rappahannock river.
On Mattapony river.
On Patuxent river, in Maryland.
On do do.

We shall not attempt a farther enumeration of the Moheakanneew tribes and clans. Most of those which we have enumerated are now extinct. Ever since the colonization they have been wasting. Civilization has been more destructive to them than war. Both however have been active. Besides, the tide of emigration for two hundred years past has been to the west. Before that time it had been east. The Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, retired first to the upper parts of Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, then to the Alleghany, Ohio, Muskingum, &c. At present, some have gone beyond the Mississippi. The Nanticockes, Conoys, and Tutloes, removed from the states of Maryland and Delaware, to Nanticocke falls on the Susquehanna, then to the upper parts of that river, where they settled among the Lenni Lenape; afterwards they went

westwardly with them. The Shawanese at first broke up their settlements between the Susquehanna river and the Alleghany mountain, and retreated to the Alleghany, Monongahelia and Ohio rivers, and afterwards when hard pressed, fell back upon the Hockhocking, Sciota, &c. and latterly, many of them have taken stations on the west side of the Mississippi. The Mohegans, Moheakanneews, &c. or such as remain of them, have gone mostly to Green Bay on the west side of lake Michigan.

The commonwealth or confederation of the Lenni Lenape, was the most extensive and powerful of all the Moheakanneew states. It comprised about thirty thousand square miles, and extended from the Connecticut river on the north-east to the Susquehanna river, and the head of Chesapeake bay on the south-west. It was divided into five cantons, to wit: the Mohiccons, the Wabingas or Mohickanders, the Unami or Wanami, the Munsi or Munseys, and the Chihohocki. The latter tribe or canton, was at the head of the confederacy, as that of the Mohawks was at the head of the Agoneasean confederation. The clans into which these tribes or cantons were subdivided were numerous, and in some instances considerable, as to numbers, influence, &c. Every clan had one chief or more. The subdivision into clans, has been the source of much confusion among writers.

The Lenni Lenape were conquered about the time the English began to settle in Virginia, by the Agoneaseah. The war raged with great fury at the time Captain John Smith, (the founder of the potent state of Virginia,) was exploring Chesapeake bay, and its numerous rivers, inlets, &c. A band of the Agoneaseah, whom he calls Massawomecks, fell in with him and his exploring party, between whom there was a skirmish that proved disastrous to the former. This band had fought its way down the Susquehanna. The Susquehannocks, Shawanese, &c. were in the utmost consternation. Other bands about the same time, fought their way down the Delaware and Hudson; vanquishing the Munsi, Chihohocki, Unami, Mohickanders, and Mohiccons.

The Powhatans were the next in power to the Lenni Lenape. Their state, according to the statement of Mr. Jefferson in his notes on Virginia, contained about eight thousand square miles. They

had two thousand four hundred warriors. After the Powhatans, the Narragansetts seem to have formed the most considerable state. They possessed Rhode Island, and some portions of the adjacent states of Connecticut and Massachusetts. Their whole territory contained about two thousand square miles. The writers of New England have informed us, that they had four thousand fighting men. This may have been the case, but to us it does not appear very probable. The state of Rhode Island, which comprises nearly all of their country, does not at this day contain eight thousand fighting men: we mean able bodied men, or such as are capable of taking the field—and no man in his senses can doubt that it is at leats six, if not eight times as populous now as it was two hundred years ago. Comparing the number of the Narragansetts warriors with those of the Powhatans, there might have been six or seven hundred, and it is by no means likely they much exceeded that number.

The other Moheakanneew states were much less in extent, and probably not much, if any more populous. They were also much divided. Hence the colonists easily conquered them.

The Lenni Lenape, had they not been conquered and enfeebled by the Agoneaseah, might have been very troublesome to the Dutch and English, and might have greatly retarded their settlements: but they found them exhaused, and experienced few difficulties.

The Delawares or Lenni Lenape, obtained acquisitions to their numbers, by the Indian war of 1675, and 1676, with the united colonies of New England. The remains of several of the vanquished tribes retired westwardly and crossed the Hudson. The barren chronicles of those times inform us, that about two hundred crossed the latter river a little below Albany; and that another band consisting of eighty, halted on the east side of the river at a Dutch village, and presently passed over; others also followed them. These bands were cordially received by their more fortunate countrymen, living west of the Hudson. The before named bands fled from Ausotunnoog near Stockbridge in Massachusetts, whither they had been pursued.

The colonists of New England waged a war of extermination. Very few Indians have lived since then in that country.

The Lenni Lenape, Nanticockes, and Conoys, made common cause with the Agoneaseah in the revolution against the United States. Their depredations were mostly confined to New-York and Pennsylvania. Their position in this state enabled them to make incursions with facility into both states. Those who resided on the Muskingum, Sciota, Sandusky, and other streams in Ohio ravaged the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Shawnese and Mingoes united with them. Since the revolution, the Lenni Lenape, Shawnese, Miamies, and some other tribes have been at war with the United States. In 1791, they gained a signal victory over the American forces, under Gen. St. Clair. For some time after this, they greatly distressed the frontier settlers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, by their frequent inroads and burnings, and by murdering the inhabitants, or leading them into captivity. Gen. Wayne in 1794, gave peace to the frontier people of these states, by defeating the collected forces of these tribes. The Lenni Lenape, Shawnees and Miamies are no longer dreaded by our border settlers.

HURONS.

Tribes.	*Clans.*
Hurons, or T. Son-non-ta-tex	
Tah-sa-gron-dies	
U-ta-was	
Ot-tau-wah, or Ot-tau-wahs (Ottowas)	
Di-non-da-dies, or Tui-non-da-decks (Colden & Smith,)	Amihouis
Wy-an-dotts	
Wam-pa-nos.	
Erigas, Erians, or Andastes, called also Kan-neas-to-ka-ro-ne-ah	
Quatoghies, or Owenagungies	
A-go-nea-se-ah, a long house, Many fires.	
A-ga-nus-chi-o-ni, (the same) do	
Let-e-nugh-sho-nee, (the same) do	
Gwhun-nugh-sho-nee, (the same) do	
Haugh-gogh-nuch-shi-o-nee (the same) do	
On-gue Honwee, (Men surpassing all others.)	
Ke-nunc-ti-o-ni.	
Mas-sa-wo-meeks, Min-gos, Ma-quas, Meng-wee.	
Iroquois, or Five Nations.	
Te-hur-le-ho-gugh, (court name) the Mohawks	
Con-ning-ga-haugh-gaugh, (common name) do.	
Cay-in-ga-hau-gas, do do.	
Te-haw-re-ho-geh, or Tea-kaw-re-a-ho-geh do.	
Te-kau-te-rig-te-go-nes, do.	
Mohawks, (this word is Moheakanneew.)	
Agniers, (the French called them by this name.)	
	Schaugh-nac-ta-das
	Oh-sa-ra-kas
	Oh-no-wal-a-gan-tles
	Scho-ha-ries
	I-can-de-ra-goes

Residence.

In Upper Canada, between lakes Erie, Huron, and Ontario, and also in the territory of Michigan.

Between lakes Erie and Huron, and around Detroit, in 1722.

On and near Grand or Utawas river, in Lower Canada. Formerly also in Ohio and Michigan.

On the banks of Sandusky river, on the shores of lake Erie, Ohio. Sandusky was once called Kea-tga-no-skeh.

In the vicinity of lake Michigan.

In the territory of Michigan.

On the south side of lake Erie, Ohio. They sprung from the Senecas, and at first occupied the country between Genesee and Niagara rivers.

Loretto, Lower Canada.

In New-York and Pennsylvania; chiefly in the former state between the Hudson and lake Erie. They were known by various designations. We have noticed the principal. The seven first enumerated were more or less in use among them. The eighth is the Powhatan name. The eleventh the Lenni Lenapian. The tenth the Dutch. The twelfth the French, and the thirteenth the English. We intend to use the sonorous word Agoneaseah.

In the counties of Green, Albany, Saratoga, Warren, Montgomery, Schenectady, Schoharie, Otsego, Herkimer, &c. on the banks and islands of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and Schoharie creek. The greatest number of villages were along the Mohawk.

On the west side of the Hudson, at Albany, and its vicinity.

At Stillwater, Saratoga, &c.*

At and around Schenectady.

At Schoharie and Middleburg, in Schoharie county. In 1713 they had about three hundred warriors.

At Fort Hunter, &c. on the Mohawk, Montgomery county.

Tribes.	*Clans.*
	Caugh-na-wa-gas
	Os-we-gatch-ies
	Can-a-jo-ha-ries
	No-wa-da-gas
	Kow-o-go-con-nugh-ha-rie-gugh-haries
Oneidas, O-ney-do-es, (common name.)	
Tau-hur-lin-dagh-go-waugh, (court name)	
O-ni-yu-ta-augh-a, O-ni-yu-ta.	
O-ne-yuts, O-tat-sigh-tes, Ne-haw-re-tah-go, or Hogh-na-you-tau-agh-taugh-caugh.	
Let-tegh-segh-ni-gegh-tee, (court name)	
O-non-da-gas, O-non-da-go-es, (common name.)	
O-ne-daugh-ga-haugh-ga.	
Seuh-now-ka-ta.	
Tha-to-dar-hos.	
Soon-noo-daugh-we-no-wen-da, (court name of the Cayugas.)	
Sho-nea-na-we-to-wah.	
Que-yu-gwe-haugh-ga, (the common name.)	
Que-yu-gwe.	
Cayugas.	
Sho-no-no-wen-dos.	
Te-how-nea-ny-o-hunt.	
Te-en-nen-hogh-huut, (the Senecas court name.)	
Chit-o-won-e-augh-gaw, (the common name.)	
Senecas, (we have given them this name.)	
T. Son-non-thu-ans, or T. Son-non-tou-ans.	
Sha-de-ka-ron-ges.	
	Mingos, or Mingoes
	Co-hun-ne-wa-go-es
	Augh-quag-has

Residence.

At and about Caughnawaga, Montgomery county.

At and about Anthony s Nose, Montgomery county.

At Canajoharie, &c. on both banks of the Mohawk, Montgomery co.

At Danube, &c. on the Mohawk, Herkimer county. They had two castles, the lower and the upper; the former was on the south side of the river, just above the mouth of East Canada creek; the latter was on the same side on the Nowadaga, a mile and a half higher up.

At Germanflats, Herkimer county; they had castles and several villalages; one of these was opposite the village of Herkimer, on the south side of the river.

In the counties of Oneida, Madison, and Chenango, on Sauquait, Oriskinny, Oneida, Fish, and Canasaraga creeks, and on Chenango river. The main body was on Oneida creek, at and about the castle. The Oneidas had some villages on Chenango river.

At Onondago Hollow, on Onondaga creek, on Seneca and Oswego rivers, on the shores of Otisco and Skaneateles lakes, in the counties of Onondaga and Oswego. The Onondagas had five villages on Onondaga creek, in an extent of eight miles. Onondaghara, or Onondagharie, was the largest; it is three miles south of Onondaga hollow, and contains at present about fifty houses.

Around Cayuga lake along Seneca outlet, and along the east side of Seneca lake, in the counties of Cayuga, Seneca, Tompkins, &c. Canoga, on the east side of Cayuga lake was their principal town. It is three miles south of the long bridge over the lake.

On the west side of Seneca lake around Canandaigua, along Genesee river on Tonnawanta plains formerly called Ke-dau-yoh-ko-wau, Buffalo and Cataraugus creeks, at the reservations along the Niagara and Alleghany rivers, &c. in the counties of Ontario, Livingston, Genesee, Niagara, Erie, Cattaraugus, &c. &c. The Agoneaseah called the Niagara, O-ny-a-kar-ra.

On Ohio river, &c. below Pittsburgh, in Penn. Va. and Ohio. The Mingoes were mostly from the Cayuga canton.

In the state of Ohio, &c. near Sandusky.

At Oquago, &c. in Broome co. N. Y. Mostly from the Seneca canton.

Tribes.	*Clans.*
	Gon-na-se-da-go-es
	Caugh-ne-wa-gas
	Os-we-gatch-ies
Monacans, Tuscarorees, or Kau-ta-noh	
	Mo-na-cans.
	Mas-sic-ca-pa-no-es.
	Mas-sin-a-cacs.
	Mo-na-has-sa-no-es.
	Mo-he-me-ne-ho-es.
	Kau-ta-no-ha-kau.
	Kau-wet-sa-ka.
	Tus-ca-ro-ra.

See Cusick's sketchss of the Six Nations.

Observation.—According to Cusick the Turcaroras called themselves Kau-ta-noh, and were divided as last above.

Residence.

On the St. Lawrence, near Montreal.
At St. Regis, N. Y. & L. Canada. From the Mohawk canton.
On Oswegatchie and St. Lawrence rivers. From the Mohawk canton.
The three first were colonies; the others were emigrants from the Mohawk canton.
Formerly in Virginia and North Carolina. In 1607 they had fifteen hundred warriors, and in 1700 about twelve hundred. In 1711 or 1712, they committed hostilities on the people of North Carolina, which led to a war that occasioned their ruin. The few that remained on the conclusion of the war, mostly emigrated in the latter year to New-York, where they were adopted and received by the Agoneaseah, under a belief founded on an analogy between their languages, that they were descended from the same stock. They constituted the sixth tribe.

The Tuscaroras before their emigration had been in close alliance with the Agoneaseah. In the war between the latter and the Lenni Lenape they, in conjunction with the Nanticockes, made so great a diversion in favor of the Agoneaseah that the Lenni Lenape had to submit.

The Tuscaroras settled at Oneida, &c. At present they live in Niagara county near Lewistown, and on Grand or Ouse river in Upper Canada.

The Hurons, or tribe under that appellation, were conquered by the Agoneaseah in 1666. The Erigas, or Andastes, were conquered and dispersed about the same time. The war had been kept up for many years with great animosity. The Adirondacks, or Algonkins, who were engaged in the same war, were in close alliance with the Hurons, Erigas, &c. The Dinondadies were either concerned in this war, or in one soon after, against the Agoneaseah; for in 1688, Adario, their chief, with one hundred men, set upon the Agoneasean ambassadors at one of the falls on the St. Lawrence, while on their way to Montreal to treat with the French, and murdered several of them. A peace however was made not long thereafter between them. The Agoneaseah, it is said, could never exert their whole strength against the French in Canada while this war lasted.

The Erians, or Erigas, sprung from the Senecas. They possessed the country originally between Genesee and Niagara rivers. A war from some cause or other arose between them and the Senecas, and the other Agoneasean tribes, in which the former were subdued and compelled to sue for peace. Subsequently, it appears that they abandoned the country and migrated to Ohio. The cause of the war is involved in oblivion. It however must have lasted for some time, as the Erians formed an alliance with the Nay-wau-naukau-rau-nuh, a tribe living on lake Erie, and prevailed on them to lend their aid; the Mohawks marched some troops in this contest westwardly to Genesee river.

Before the Senecas and the Erians possessed the country along Genesee river, the Squawkihows inhabited it. These the Senecas destroyed mostly in a war which ensued between them and the latter. The Squawkihows, it is likely, were the people called by the English Satanas, and by the French Sauouans. A tribe of the latter name resided on the banks of the Illinois when the French first visited that river.

The Agoneaseah, before they took up their abode in the state of New-York, had their residence on the Outawas river, near where the city of Montreal now stands. But of this in the next chapter. The Ottauwah resided in Ohio, at Sandusky, and the adjoining parts. The Tuscaroras, according to David Cusick's sketches of the Six Nations, consisted, at a period anterior to their removal from North Carolina into this state, of three tribes, which were united into a confederacy. They had wars with the Nanticokes and Totaly, (Teuteloes,) on the sea shore. The Agoneaseah consisted of five tribes. The Mohawk Canton was considered the elder brother; the Seneca Canton was considered the second brother. The former was appointed to keep a watch towards the rising sun, and the latter towards the setting sun. The one occupied the eastern end of the house, and the other the western, while the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, occupied the middle of the house. The east and west ends were called doors. The Mohawks, after the French had burned Schenectady, in a speech to the people of Albany, say, formerly the French broke into the west end of our house, alluding to an invasion of the country of the Sen-

ecas, and now they have broke in at the east end. In both instances they intend to convey the meaning, that the French burst open the doors at the end of the house, and entered their country.

The Oneidas, in ancient times, invaded the towns of the Sah-wau-noo (Shawnees,) on the Susquehanna river, and compelled that people to retire farther down the stream.

The Huron tribes, like those of the Moheakanneews, have been wasting for upwards of two hundred years. This waste has been caused by wars and civilization. The Agoneaseah carried on war with very few interruptions with the French, from 1609 or 1610, to 1697. At the same time they were engaged with the Adirondacks, Hurons, Erigas, Dinondadies, &c. Every campaign was attended with some losses in men. As the French gained strength in Canada, they got the better of them. The governors proffered them peace, but the haughty Agoneaseah rejected it with disdain; and it was not before the French had invaded and devastated their country several times, that they would listen to overtures. In one winter's expedition against the Mohawks, the French carried away three hundred captives.

In the war between Great Britain and France, when the latter lost Canada, the Agoneaseah suffered considerably; and in the war of our revolution severely. All these wars have had a tendency to diminish their numbers. The Agoneaseah at this day do not number over six or seven thousand souls, although for the last forty years they have been on the increase. In this estimate we have included those living in the Canadas, and elsewhere. This number is not one-third of what it was two centuries ago. We have, in another part of this work, estimated it at from twenty to twenty-five thousand. Like the Moheakanneews, the Agoneaseah, and other Huron tribes, are retiring westwardly, and have been for more than one hundred years. The Mohawks first abandoned their possessions on the Hudson, and the lower parts of the Mohawk, and concentrated themselves at Icanderago, and other places higher up the latter river. Subsequently, in 1776, they left Icanderago, and Nowodaga, and went to Upper and Lower Canada. The Oneidas still remain, but their canton is restricted to a township lying along Oneida creek. Portions of the Onondagas, and Cayugas, have

gone to Canada, and located themselves on the Ouse with the Mohawks. Those remaining with us will shortly follow them. The Senecas have made several reservations on which they live; but as some have retired to Canada, &c. and as all have a greater or less dislike to manual labor, the whole, in all human probability, will leave the state before many years.

The Indigines of the United States, and the Canadas, are universally retrograding to the west. In less than a century there will be none east of the Mississippi. Nothing can save them from utter destruction but civilization, and the adoption of husbandry and the arts.

For authorities the reader is referred to Smith's history of New-York; Hubbard's history of the Indian wars in New England; C. Mather's Magnalia; Hazzard's Col. state papers; Charlevoix's history of New France; La Hontain's do; Roger's and Barton's do; Observations of Dr. Edwards; Notes on Virginia, by Mr. Jefferson; Captain John Smith's voyages, &c. in Virginia, in 1606, 1607, &c.; Appendix to Mr. Jefferson's notes, by Mr. Thompson; History of Vermont, by Williams; Dr. Dwight's views of the aborigines; Morse's Geography and Gazetteer; McKenzie's travels; a dissertation by D. Clinton, late governor; Trumbull's history of Conn.; Hon. S. Wood's sketches of Long Island; De Salle's travels; Dr. H. Spafford's Gaz. N. Y.; David Cusick's sketches of the Six Nations, published in 1827; Reese's and Edinburgh Encyclopedia.

CHAPTER VI.

THE AGONEASEAH.

Origin of the Agoneaseah or Five Nations.

The history of the Agoneaseah, before the arrival of the Europeans among them, is involved in impenetrable obscurity. According to tradition, their original place of residence was along the St. Lawrence and Grand rivers, in the vicinity of the city of Montreal, in the province of Lower Canada. Here they lived the humble dependants of the Adirondacks, or Algonkins, and had to accompany them in their hunting expeditions, flay the animals which they killed, preserve their flesh, and dress their skins. But at length they associated for the purpose of defending themselves against some of the adjoining tribes. They were led to this by the marked superiority which the Adirondacks held by their association; they learned from them the art of conducting themselves with propriety in their warlike excursions; this they soon turned to the great object of establishing their own independence. The jealousy of the Adirondacks arose; both nations were employed in hunting, and the Agoneaseah, whether by their activity, or by good fortune, had killed a much greater number of elks and deer than their associates, who exasperated at their success, fell upon a party of their young men at night, and put every one of them to death. This conduct naturally provoked the anger of the Agoneaseah; but they dissembled their resentment, and waited for a favorable opportunity to retaliate. They tried their strength upon the inferior tribes, and improved both in skill and in courage. In due time, their plans being matured, they attacked the Adirondacks with invincible courage, and destroyed many of them. A fierce contest arose between the two nations, in which the latter prevailed, and expelled the former.

Driven from their country the Agoneaseah marched southwardly, and falling in with the Satanas, or Sauounons, then living on the

banks of the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers, along Oneida and Onondaga creeks, on the shores of Cayuga and Seneca lakes, and on the banks of Genesee river and Tonnewanta creek, a bloody contest ensued which lasted for some time. In this contest the Agoneaseah at length came off victorious, and after nearly exterminating the Satanas, forced the remains to leave the country. The Agoneaseah, at the time of their expulsion from Canada, and during the war with the Satanas, seem to have consisted of only two tribes; the Mohawks and Senecas. The Mohawk and Genesee countries appear to have been first conquered, and the intermediate space subsequently. The Satanas, it is likely, made stands at Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and other places, against the Mohawks and Senecas for a long time.

The expulsion of the Agoneaseah from the province of Lower Canada, according to the same tradition, happened several generations anterior to the arrival of the French and Dutch. The union then had existed some ages before the Dutch founded Albany and Schenectady, but not from time immemorial, as alleged by Colden and Smith in their histories.

The Agoneaseah, as soon as they had established themselves in their new possessions, resumed offensive operations against the Adirondacks and carried the war into their country. This war was kept up for many years with the utmost animosity, but at last the Agoneaseah gained signal advantages over the Adirondacks and their allies. They made frequent incursions into their country, and cut off many of their hunting and war parties, and at last compelled them to conclude an ignominious peace.

The Agoneaseah, when the Dutch first became acquainted with them, consisted of five tribes, or cantons, namely, the Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Oneidas. Each tribe was subdivided into clans having distinct designations, such as Otter, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, &c. The Huron, as well as the Moheakanneew tribes, sometimes assumed the name of animals; they had their Buffalo tribe; their Elk, Moose, and Deer tribes; their Wolf, Fox, and Eagle tribes. Individuals were named after animate or inanimate objects, as the great warrior, swift runner, big knife, &c.

The Mohawks and Senecas were the oldest and ranked first.

Next to these were the Onondagas; then the Oneidas and Cayugas. The Onondagas dwelt in the middle of the Agoneasean state, and must in all probability have been a colony, perhaps a war colony from the Mohawk and Seneca cantons. The Cayugas, it is likely, were a colony from the Seneca and Onondaga cantons, and the Oneidas from that of the Mohawk.

Before we proceed farther we shall endeavor to give the several names by which the Agoneaseah were known. The Dutch called them Maquais; the French Iroquoise; the English the Five Nations, also the Six Nations; the southern Indians Massawomekes, Mingwee, &c. They were also called Mingoes, &c. In their own language they gave themselves the name Agoneaseah; that is, the Long House. This name varied some in the different dialects, but always retained the same meaning; thus, A-ga-nus-chi-o-ni, Haugh-gogh-nuch-shi-o-nee, Let-e-nugh-sho-nee, and Gwhun-nugh-sho-nee, signified the same thing, a Long House. They also gave themselves the appellation of Ongue Honwee, that is men surpassing all others. The tribes or cantons had also several names, to wit, common, and such as were used in public transactions. The Mohawks, in ordinary conversation, called themselves Con-ning-ga-haugh-gaugh; the Senecas, Chit-o-won-e-augh-gaw; the Onondagas, One-daugh-ga-haugh-ga, (that is, People of the Valley); the Cayugas, Que-yu-gwe-haugh-ga, & the Oneidas, Onei-yu-ta-augh-a. In treaties, and other transactions of a public kind, the Mohawks were called Te-haw-re-ho-geh, also Te-hur-le-ho-gugh; the Senecas, Te-how-nea-nyo-hunt, also Toe-nen-hogh-hunt; the Onondagas, Seuh-now-ka-ta-, also Let-tegh-segh-ni-gegh-tee; the Cayugas, Sho-nea-na-we-to-wah, also Soon-noo-daugh-we-no-wen-da; and the Oneidas, Ne-haw-re-tah-go, also Tau-hur-lin-dagh-go-waugh. The French called the Mohawks, Agniers; the Senecas, Tsonnonthouans; the Onondagas, Onnontaguese; the Cayugas, Goyogans; and the Oneidas, Onneyouths.

The country of the Agoneaseah extended between the forty-third and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude, about three hundred and ten miles from east to west, inclining some to the south-west. Its breadth was from eighty to one hundred and twenty miles. It stretched from the Hudson to the river Niagara and lake Erie on

the west. On the north, there was the country of the Adirondacks and lake Ontario; on the east, the country of the Moheakanneews; and on the south, the states of the Lenni Lenape and Shawnese. Upon the south-west, it touched the possessions of the Erigas or Andastes. Beyond lakes Ontario and Erie, were the territories of the Hurons. The country was watered by the Mohawk, Oswego, Seneca, Genesee, and many other streams. The lands in some places were mountainous and hilly, and in others level. The soil was in general fertile, and adapted to the growth of corn, &c.

The Hudson divided the country of the Moheakanneews from that of the Mohawks. When the Dutch first came to Albany, and for some years after, controversies existed between the former and the latter, in relation to the alluvial lands on the east side of the river, and some of the islands in the stream. Dunn's Island, a little below the city on which the Dutch erected their first post, was cleared and occupied by the Mohawks. The Dutch, shortly after they removed from Dunn's Island to Fort Orange, invited the hostile chiefs of both tribes to an entertainment in the fort, and prevailed on them to settle the matters in controversy, and bury the tomahawk.

The Agoneaseah possessed on the north Cough-sagh-rage, or the beaver hunting country. This tract which they seem to have taken from the Adirondacks, was bounded on the south by the Mohawk and Oneida cantons, on the east by lake Champlain, on the north by the province of Lower Canada, on the north-west by the river St. Lawrence, and on the west by lake Ontario. Every year bands used to go thither for the purpose of hunting.

The English established a colony at Jamestown in the state of Virginia in 1606, and the French, one at Quebeck in Lower Canada in 1609. At these periods the Agoneaseah were engaged in war with the Lenni Lenape, Shawnese and Susquehannocks on the south, and with the Adirondacks and Hurons on the north and west. In the year 1607, Captain John Smith, the founder of the state of Virginia, while exploring the upper parts of Chesapeake bay, fell in with seven of their canoes loaded with warriors. He calls them Massawomekes. This was the name by which the Agoneaseah were known to the Powhatans. A rencounter ensued be-

tween them and Smith's party, in which they were vanquished. The Susquehannocks and others were greatly alarmed at the prowess of these invaders. How long the war had raged before then, and how long it continued after that time is not known. The Agoneaseah had at that time fought their way down, not only the Susquehanna and Delaware, but also down the Hudson, as far as its mouth.

In the course of the war, they formed alliances with the Nanticockes and Monacans, from whom they derived important aids. The war was long, and for some time doubtful; but at length the Agoneaseah prevailed, and the Lenni Lenape, and Shawnese, had to conclude an inglorious peace, and place themselves under their protection. They were deprived of some of their hunting grounds, and prohibited from making war or peace.

Upon the conquest and submission of the Lenni Lenape, Shawnese, and others in the south, the Agoneaseah sent out several war colonies, who settled in the countries of the vanquished. The Augh-quag-has, who seated themselves at Oquago, on the Susquehanna in the county of Broome: the Mingoes, who located themselves on the Ohio below Pittsburg, in the states of Pennsylvania and Ohio; and the Cohunnawgoes, who planted themselves at and contiguous to Sandusky, were colonies of this description. These watched the movements of the conquered, and served to secure their allegiance.

When the Dutch began the settlement of the New Netherlands, all the Indians residing along the Hudson from its mouth up to Catskill, and those residing on Long Island and in Connecticut adjoining the Sound, were in subjection to the Agoneaseah, and paid them a yearly tribute.

The contest in the north was also long and bloody. The Hurons and Adirondacks suffered severely from the frequent inroads of the Agoneaseah, and were at length unable to make effectual opposition to their arms. The French when they came to Canada, concluded alliances with the Adirondacks and Hurons, and espoused their cause, and entered with them into the war. Champlain, the French commander went in person with them in their expeditions. The Adirondacks saw with astonishment the destructive effects of

the French arms, in an attack make upon the Agoneaseah at lake George and other places. The Adirondacks and Hurons, gave a very friendly attention to the French, and intended by their assistance to gain their accustomed superiority over their ancient, inveterate, and haughty foes. They favored the settlements of the French, gave them lands and courted their friendship, and invited them to settle in various parts of their respective countries; and by their assistance, they obtained many and repeated advantages over the Agoneaseah, nor was it until the latter became accustomed to the use and effect of the European arms, that they could make any effectual opposition to an enemy whom they had before defeated and despised. But instead of being disheartened by the new method of war, it served rather to inflame the haughty Agoneaseah with the fiercest resentment against the French. They viewed these strangers as the most destructive of all their enemies; and it became the most important of all objects to carry on a destructive, unceasing, and exterminating war with them. Wherever the French went they assisted and encouraged the Adirondacks; but they met with a steady, brave, and bitter enemy in the Agoneaseah. The Adirondacks and Hurons were enemies which the Agoneaseah wished to subdue: but the French were every where the chosen victims, and the objects of their most inveterate hatred. To have taught a despised enemy how to conquer, to have introduced among them weapons every way superior to their own, were crimes which the fiercest, the most savage and haughty of all the American nations could not forget and forgive.

The Agoneaseah procured arms of the Dutch, whom they had admitted into their country, and gradually regained their superiority over the Adirondacks and Hurons. Feeling the animation of their regained superiority, they became more fierce, and more insolent than ever. They repeated and redoubled their inroads into Canada against the Hurons, Adirondacks and French, burning towns and villages, devastating the country, murdering the inhabitants, or leading them into captivity to grace their savage triumphs.

These inroads became so frequent, and were attended with such slaughters and devastations, that M. Courcelles the governor of Canada in the year 1665, sent out a numerous party against the

Mohawks, one of the Agoneasean tribes, but it proved abortive. About this time the Agoneaseah conquered and nearly extirpated the Hurons and Erigas, Erians or Andastes. The latter lived on the south side of lake Erie in the state of Ohio. They were so nearly destroyed that they have not been known as an existing people since.

To retrieve the reputation of the French arms: to repress these inroads, and strike the Agoneaseah with terror, M. Courcelles marched through the wilderness, and invaded the country of the Mohawks with twenty companies of foot, and all the militia of Canada, together with the Adirondacks who acted as allies. The Mohawks unable to oppose this formidable invasion, fled to the woods, and sought refuge in the swamps and fastnesses. The French took Icanderago and other places, and burnt them. Icanderago was a large town, at the mouth of Schoharie creek. The Mohawks, alarmed at the strength of the invaders, and unable to cope with them, were obliged to listen to terms of peace, which were concluded in the year 1667.

The Agoneaseah between the years 1663 and 1672, were engaged in hostilities with the Massachusetts, Pawtucketts, Pennacooks, Kennebecks, Pokomtakukes, Quabaugs, Nipmucks, and Nashaways. These tribes in the course of the war, had to break up several of their settlements, and fell back upon the borders of the English plantations. The scarcity of provisions was such, that some of the Indians belonging to those tribes, in order to subsist themselves, had to enter into the employment of the planters and labor.

The following is an abstract of some of the operations of this war, taken from Mr. Daniel Gookin's sketches of the Indians of New England.

In the summer of 1669, divers of the eastern Indians united their forces together to the number of six or seven hundred men, and marched into the country of the Mohawks. They were commanded by Chekatabutt a sachem of the Massachusetts. The march to the Mohawk forts was about two hundred miles. The Indians, Mr. Gookins remarks, are slow in their march when hey are in a body, for they have to provide food as they travel, by

hunting, fishing, and gathering roots, &c. This Indian army at last came to the Mohawk's nearest fort, which their enemies had by this time well strengthened, fortified, and furnished with men and victuals. This fort Chekatabutt besieged for some days. Several skirmishes ensued between the besiegers and the besieged. In one of these, a stout party of the Mohawks sallied out upon the besiegers. Both parties fought with great bravery, and several men were slain. The Mohawks at length fell back into the fort. Soon after this affair, Chekatabutt was obliged to raise the siege, in consequence of a want of ammunition and provisions. In his retreat he had to leave his sick and wounded. The Mohawks pursued them, and making a compass got before them, and placed themselves in ambush at a pass having deep swamps on each side. Here they attacked the army of Chekatabutt by stealth, while on their return home, and killed a great number. In this action, the commander of the Eastern Indians and most of his officers fell. The victory, however, was dearly purchased by the Mohawks, as Chekatabutt and his men fought very bravely when they found themselves entrapped and hemmed in. This was the last and most bloody battle between the Mohawks and Eastern Indians.

The Agoneaseah in 1678, invaded the country of the Illinoise with six hundred men, commanded by Tagancourte a Seneca, (T. Sonnontouan,) and Agoustot a Desonontage. The Illinoise opposed them with five hundred men. Twenty-five Frenchmen under M. de Salle acted as auxilliaries, and mediated a peace. The Illinoise were at first in the utmost consternation, and would have abandoned their country, had it not been for the persuasions of the French. So great a dread did the warlike Agoneaseah inspire among distant nations. See M. de Salle's travels.

The Agoneaseah claimed all the lands from the Sorel in the north-east, south-westwardly to the Mississippi; and between the Otawas or Grand river, lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, and the St. Lawrence. Again, M. de Salle says in his Journal, the Agoneaseah (Iroquoise) possessed a tract of land from Montreal, or rather from the place where the two rivers, the St. Lawrence and Ottawas, which form that of the St. Lawrence, meet to the farther

end of the lake Conti or Herie (Erie,) two hundred leagues. See his Voyages in 1678, &c.

The Agoneaseah by the conquest and dispersion of the Hurons and Erigas, became possessed of the extensive regions which they had occupied. According to Hennepin and La Hontan, who wrote towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, they had several villages on the north side of lake Ontario, not far from fort Frontinac, now Kingston. Those which they have enumerated were called Tejajahon, Kente and Ganneousse. These villages subsisted in 1679, and were, it is presumable, founded by colonies.

M. de la Salle informs us that the Agoneaseah had in 1678, villages on lake Conti or Herie (Erie,) near the great falls of Niagara. The particular places where these villages stood he does not designate. He calls one village Niagara.

The peace concluded between the French and Agoneaseah in 1667, was not lasting. The latter, as soon as they had recovered from the dread inspired by the invasion of the former, renewed their inroads into Canada upon the French and Adirondacks. In 1684, M. de la Barre with one thousand seven hundred French, and a considerable body of Adirondacks, crossed lake Ontario and invaded the country of the Onondagas. A conference was had with the Onondagas, Oneidas and Cayugas, three of the confederate cantons. At this conference, M. de la Barre made a speech to the assembled chiefs. He proffered peace and amity to the nation, charged them with having plundered and murdered many of the French and their allies, and demanded reparation, and threatened them with vengeance in case they refused a compliance. Garrangula, a chief of the Onondagas on the part of the Agoneaseah made a reply. He denied that they had plundered the French or their allies, declared their inability to make satisfaction, and signified to the commander of the French, that they were willing and desirous of peace. A treaty was thereupon concluded, and M. de la Barre returned to Frontinac.

Very shortly after the treaty concluded at Onondaga, the Agoneaseah interrupted the French traders going to and returning from the upper lakes, and plundered them. In 1687, M. de Nonville, with two thousand French troops, and six hundred Adirondacks,

proceeded to the country of the Senecas; here he was joined by a detachment from Niagara, and a considerable number of Indians. M. Companie, with the advance, surprised two or three villages about eight leagues south of lake Ontario. De Nonville, on his way to Niagara, stopped at Teoronto, (Irondequot,) a few miles east of the mouth of Genesee river, probably in the vicinage of the village of Penfield, in the county of Monroe. From Teoronto M. de Nonville marched to the principal village or town of the Senecas, distant about seven leagues. This village, it is likely, was Kanawageres. Here an action was fought, in which the Senecas were defeated, with the loss of one hundred and five men killed and wounded. The French after this action burned several villages, and destroyed all the corn fields around them; they then returned to the lake, from whence they repaired to Niagara, where they erected a small fort, in which one hundred men were placed under M. de la Troye.

Soon after these occurrences the Agoneasean chiefs met Col. Dongan at Albany, and renewed the treaty. Shortly after this a body of Mohawks, accompanied by some Mohickanders or Wabingas, their dependants, made an irruption into Canada, beset Chambly, burnt several houses, and then returned with a number of captives. About the same time a marauding party of the Onondagas surprised a few French soldiers near fort Frontenac whom they led into captivity.

In the mean time the French proposed an armistice to the Agoneaseah, which was accepted, and an exchange of prisoners was agreed upon. Montreal was chosen as the place for making peace. Nearly twelve hundred of the Agoneasean warriors repaired thither in order to be present. A treaty was entered into, which included the Adirondacks, and others, in alliance with France. This peace, however, was of very short duration; the rupture was occasioned by Adario, a chief of the Dinondodies, or Dinondadies, a Huron tribe. This man, with a party, set upon and killed several of the Agoneasean ambassadors, at one of the falls of the St. Lawrence, while they were on their way to Montreal. In this tragic scene he had the address to induce those whom he had spared to believe that he had been instigated to this atrocious deed by the French.

The whole nation, on receiving intelligence of this, vowed revenge upon the French. Twelve or fifteen hundred of their warriors, animated with the fiercest feelings of the savage heart, assembled and set out on a march for Montreal. The inhabitants of that place, unacquainted with the attack and murder of the ambassadors, and uninformed of the expedition, were in perfect tranquility, without any preparation of defence, or any apprehension of danger. While the town was thus serene and without fear, the storm of vengeance burst. The Agoneaseah landed on the island of Montreal the twenty-sixth of July, 1688, and immediately began their assault upon every part of the town. Nothing could exceed the destruction which these enraged savages carried with them. They slaughtered every man, woman, and child, whom they found without the fortifications, burnt the houses, and sacked the plantations. One thousand of the French, according to some accounts, and three hundred, according to others, were massacred, and twenty-six led into captivity, where they were burned at the stake.

In October, of the same year, they made a second descent upon the same island, and desolated the lower part of it, after having killed and captured many of the inhabitants. These inroads, massacres, and devastations, seem to have occasioned the sacking and burning of Schenectady, in February, 1690, by the French.

This war was kept up with great animosity between the Agoneaseah and French until 1698, when peace was concluded between them. From the latter period, to 1755, the Agoneaseah remained on terms of amity and friendship with the French and Adirondacks, and the other tribes in alliance with them. In the wars between England and France they observed a strict neutrality. Both the English and French courted their friendship with costly presents, and endeavored to preserve peace with them. Every governor of New-York upon his arrival had to announce it to the Agoneaseah, and appoint a time to meet them at Albany. At every meeting the ancient league or covenant was renewed, and accompanied with costly gifts. And so firmly was this custom established, that an omission on the part of the governor would have been deemed a sufficient justification by these fierce savages for the commencement of hostilities.

The French maintained missionaries among the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, till their expulsion from Canada. These missionaries acquired unbounded influence over them, and controlled them in all their treaties and alliances. One of these missionaries, named Joncaire, had the same influence among the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Chitowoneaughgaws, or Senecas, that Major Schuyler possessed among the Mohawks.

In 1712 the Monacans, or Tuscaroras, were received and incorporated by the Agoneaseah as the sixth tribe. The Monacans were from Virginia and North Carolina. The Agoneaseah received them on a supposition that they were originally of the same stock, because there was a similitude between their languages.

The cause of the Monacan emigration was this: In the year 1711 or 1712, the Monacans entered into a plot with the Corees, a neighboring tribe of North Carolina, to murder every person then living in the infant colony of that state. Great address was shown in the management of this affair. The Monacans and Corees sent out many small parties by different roads, who entered the habitations of the colonists under a well dissembled friendship; and, at the appointed time, they began an indiscriminate massacre. One hundred and thirty-seven of the inhabitants were killed. Some, however, escaping gave the alarm. The militia assembled, and forces soon after arrived from South Carolina. These, with the militia, invaded the states of the Corees and Monacans, and subdued them. One thousand of the latter were killed and taken; the remainder were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted. The greater part who had escaped the sword immediately thereafter migrated to the north. The Monacans, we are assured by Capt. John Smith, in his history of Virginia, had one thousand five hundred warriors in the year 1607. "On the 20th of May, 1723, eighty Nicariagas, besides women and children, joined the Agoneaseah; their country was on the north side of Michilimackinack."—See Smith's history of New-York. The Nicariagas, it is likely, were of Huron extraction.

Although the Agoneaseah preserved peace with the French and English, and Adirondacks, and other Indian tribes in the north, yet they made frequent expeditions to the south, against the Catawbas,

Cherokees, and others. They also made expeditions south-westwardly as far as the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. All the Indian tribes to the south and south-west, as far as the countries of the Catawbas, Cherokees, and Illinoise, were subdued, and compelled to acknowledge their power. Traditionary accounts are preserved to this day among the Agoneaseah, in relation to these expeditions.

"The confederacy of the Five Nations extended their conquests as far south as Manhattan island, and had passed over to the west end of Long Island, and subdued the Canarse Indians."

"There is a tradition among the Dutch, that at the time of the first settlement of the island the Canarse tribe paid the Mohawks an annual tribute of wampum and dried clams, and that they discontinued the payment of it on the persuasion of the whites, in consequence of which a party of the conquerors came and destroyed the whole tribe, except a few who happened to be from home."—See a Sketch of the first settlement of Long Island, by the Hon. Silas Wood, page 63.

In the same page Mr. Wood goes on and says, " Some writers have supposed that the conquest of the Mohawks extended to the whole Island, but there is no tradition to support it, and it is believed that the conquest never extended beyond the territory of the Canarse Indians."

Between 1664 and 1775, several bands of the Agoneaseah emigrated to Canada and other places. The Caughnawagas, Oswegatchies, and Connasedagas, were mostly from the Mohawk canton. These settled on the river St. Lawrence, at those places which still bear their names. These emigrations followed the conversion of those clans to christianity.

The number of the Agoneaseah.—It is impossible to ascertain the number of inhabitants in the Agoneasean commonwealth at any one period. Little or no attention appears to have been given to this subject by those who had correspondence with them, and who had in some measure the means. That their numbers declined after they had intercourse with the Dutch, English, and French, cannot be disputed ; but in what ratio we are unable to say.

La Hontan says that each canton, or tribe of the Agoneasean state contained fourteen thousand souls, which would have given

a population of seventy thousand to the nation; he is evidently mistaken; his round numbers, and his assigning an equal population to each tribe, show that he wrote from hearsay. The opinion of Col. Coursey, the Virginian agent, who had a conference with the Agoneasean chiefs at Albany, in the year 1677, has some claims to truth. He estimates the warriors at only one thousand eight hundred and fifty; his data, however, on which he founds his estimate, are vague. He gives to the Mohawks three hundred; to the Oneidas two hundred; to the Onondagas three hundred and fifty; and to the Cayugas and Senecas one thousand. Coursey has undoubtedly underrated the Mohawks and Senecas; the former were at the head of the confederation, and were beyond all doubt the most numerous; the latter ranked next, and could not have fallen far under as to numbers. The Mohawks had, probably, five times the number of warriors which he assigns to them. Lahontan, and Coursey, especially the former, wrote from hearsay. We cannot, therefore, attach much weight to their accounts. In making these remarks we would not wish to be understood as derogating the merits of Lahontan and Colonel Coursey. In other respects, the former has furnished us with many facts in regard to the erratic tribes of North America. To obtain the exact number of any of the American nations is very difficult, perhaps impossible; the population is insulated, and scattered over a large extent of country, and is never embodied. That of the Agoneaseah was thinly spread over thirty or forty thousand square miles, and was never collected together; so that, from the very condition that it was in, no man could find out with any degree of certainty the amount.

In 1768, when the confederacy had drawn near a dissolution, there were two thousand nine hundred and seventy warriors, if reliance can be placed in a list made out of the tribes of several nations by Hutchins, in which list the Agoneaseah are included. Four years before Bouquet furnished a list, but it is incomplete. He enumerates in part the same tribes that Hutchins does. We will give statements from both lists. According to that of Hutchins, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras, had two thousand one hundred and twenty warriors; and the Caughnawagas, Oswegatchies, Connesadagoes, Aughquagas,

Mingos, and Cohunnewagoes, eight hundred and fifty, making in all two thousand nine hundred and seventy. The reader will recollect that the Caughnawagas, and the other clans following them, were either emigrants or war colonies from the Agoneasean state. The list of Bouquet gives only one thousand five hundred and fifty to the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras, which falls five hundred and seventy under that given by Hutchins of the same tribes. In both instances the numbers are beyond all doubt overrated. But taking the statement of Hutchins for granted, the whole population of the Agoneasean nation could not have exceeded twelve or fourteen thousand souls. The Agoneaseah, about the time the Dutch began to settle at New-York, Albany, and Schenectady, were in their meridian, and were more numerous than at subsequent periods. Their decline began with the Dutch settlements, and has continued ever since. In a subsequent chapter we intend to speak more fully in relation to their probable population.

The Mohawks, and some of the other confederates joined the English in the war between England and France, which was commenced in 1755, and ended in 1763, as allies; while the Senecas, and others, joined the French in the same character. Hendrick, the chief of the Mohawks, accompanied Sir William Johnson to the head of lake George, near which he fell in an action between the Anglo-Americans and the French. In the course of this war they were very active. Few expeditions were undertaken but what they accompanied, and did more injury to their employers than good. As the French interest declined in Canada, those who had aided that people abandoned them, and came over to the English. This occurred at Niagara, and other places. The Cayugas and Senecas turned the very arms which the French had given to them, against them.

After the conquest of Canada, the Agoneaseah for the most part remained at peace till 1776, when all the tribes except the Oneidas took up the hatchet against the United States, being seduced by the English agents to make common cause with England against the American people, who had just shaken off the yoke. In the early part of this year, a treaty had been negotiated with them at

Herkimer, in which they engaged to observe a neutrality. Immediately after, however, they commenced depredations again on the frontiers of New-York. Agents were dispatched to them in order to prevent a repetition. They made apologies and promised to adhere to the treaty; but notwithstanding their promises, they shortly after renewed their depredations with increased strength, activity, and ferocity. The treaty concluded in the early part of the year, was at Fort Dayton in the town of Herkimer. General Schuyler was the commissioner on the part of the United States. All the leading men and head warriors of the Agoneaseah attended on the occasion. Large presents were made to them in order to induce them to remain neutral. In the management of this difficult and delicate affair, General Schuyler acted with the utmost prudence and skill, but it was unavailing.

The Mohawks, who had hitherto resided on the Mohawk river, broke up their settlements at Fort Hunter, Canajoharie and Nowadaga, and retired to Canada. The Oneidas prefering peace to war, and the amity of the United States to that of Great Britain, upon the suggestion of the American government removed from the banks of Onedia creek, and the contiguous parts to Schenectady, where they continued to the peace concluded in 1783, being provided by government with the means of subsistence.

The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cauygas and Senecas, in the course of the war made numerous inroads into the states of New-York and Pennsylvania, especially the former state, where, in conjunction with the royalists they committed great devastations, burning the frontier settlements, and murdering the inhabitants, or dragging them into long and painful captivity. In July 1778, a large body of the Agoneaseah in company with bands of the Lenni Lenape and royalists, burst suddenly into the rich and flourishing settlement of Wyoming in Pennsylvania, and laid it entirely waste, killing most of the inhabitants. In this invasion the royalists surpassed the Agoneaseah and Lenni Lenape in cruelty. The fine settlement of Minisink in this state, shared the same fate soon after. Chemung on Tioga river, and Oquago in the county of Broome on the Susquehanna, were the places whence these maraunding bands set out in their destructive and bloody incursions. At these places they

collected provisions, arms and other munitions of war. From these places, then remote from the frontiers and surrounded with woods, and almost inaccessible to regular troops, the Agoneaseah, Lenni Lenape and royalists, easily penetrated the Minisink, Schoharie and Mohawk countries, and committed their depredations. All of their advances, attacks and retreats, were rapid and almost simultaneous. Alarms scarcely preceded the irruptions, attacks, and retreats. The settlement of Cherry Valley in the county of Otsego, was destroyed the same year that, that of Minisink was. Colonel Brandt the chief of the Agoneaseah came up the valley from the Susquehanna with four or five hundred men including royalists, and laid the settlements entirely waste. No buildings escaped the conflagration except those under the guns of the fort. Several of the inhabitants were murdered in cold blood; and among those were women and children. A bare recital of the cruelties committed at this place, makes humanity shudder. Women were ripped open and quartered, and their mangled limbs suspended on the branches of trees; smiling infants taken from the breasts of their mothers, had their brains dashed out. The family of the late John Wells, Esquire, were all murdered, and he would have shared the same fate, had he not been at the grammar school in Schenectady. He was then about nine years old.

William Buttler, an American partizan officer, towards the close of the same year, marched from Schoharie with a small party through the woods to Oquago, and destroyed the depot and Indian towns. On his return, he laid the Indian villages on Unadilla river waste.

To repress the inroads of the Agoneaseah, and to make them feel all the horrors of an invasion; General Sullivan was directed in the year 1779, to march into their country with four thousand men. Tioga point in Pennsylvania, at the confluence of the Susquehanna and Tioga rivers, was fixed upon for the rendezvous of these troops. General Sullivan proceeded up the Susquehanna with three thousand men, where he was joined by General James Clinton, who had come by the way of the Mohawk and Cherry Valley to the outlet of Otsego lake, and thence by water down the Susquehanna. Upon the junction of these troops, General Sul-

livan began his march up Tioga river, for the country of the Senecas. Near Newtown in the country of Tioga, the enemy attempted to oppose him but were defeated. After this they retreated, abandoning every idea of farther resistance. Sullivan continued his march along the Tioga, up to the Conhocton, and thence to Genesee river. Then proceeding down that river, he laid all their settlements waste, burning their habitations, and destroying their corn. Eighteen towns and villages were burnt in a few days.

While General Sullivan was laying the Agoneasean settlements waste on Tioga, Conhocton and Genesee rivers, Colonel Broadhead marched from Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, with six or seven hundred men, about two hundred miles up the Alleghany, and destroyed the towns, villages, and cornfields, belonging to the Agoneaseah along that river. The Agoneasean settlements on that river were mostly at Tunessassah, in the counties of Warren and Mc Kean, in Pennsylvania and Cattaraugus in this state. Here the Senecas and Cayugas had several towns and villages. The reseservation now extends about thirty miles along the river Alleghany.

Previous to these expeditions, and in the month of April in the same year, Colonel Van Schaick assisted by Liuetenant Colonel Willet and Major Cochran, marched from fort Schuyler now Utica, with five or six hundred men against the Onondagas, whom he surprised and routed; twelve were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners. The houses and provisions of the Onondagas were burnt, and the whole settlement wasted. Colonel Van Schaick returned on the sixth day, having marched one hundred and sixty miles through the woods, including egress and ingress, and without the loss of a man.

Although these expeditions did not induce the Agoneaseah and their dependents, the Lenni Lenape to come to peace, and although they did not afford perfect security to the frontier inhabitants, yet they were attended with considerable advantages. The Agoneaseah, though not conquered, were greatly intimidated. They were less terrible, and their irruptions were less frequent, and less formidable than they had been.

In the year 1780, the Agoneaseah and royalists under Sir John Johnson and Colonel Brandt, invaded and partially devastated the Mohawk and Schoharie countries. The enemy, in this invasion quickly traversed the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys. Two actions were fought; the one at Palatine, and the other at Johnstown in the county of Montgomery. In the former, the Americans under Major Brown were defeated; but in the latter, Colonel Willet kept the field and compelled the enemy to retire.

The incursions which followed the preceding invasion were confined to small parties, and though some individuals were usually killed, yet they were not of so serious a nature. Still, however, the border settlers were under almost daily alarms, and had to be constantly on the watch. An end was put to these inroads by the peace made in 1783, between Great Britain and the United States.

Dissolution of the Agoneasean confederacy.—Since 1783, the Agoneaseah do not appear to have acted in unison, The bonds which had hitherto held them together became loosened, and the several tribes acted separately in their public as well as their private transactions. The same causes which had dissolved the compacts of the hunting tribes on the coast, operated upon the Agoneaseah and weakened them, and rendered them imbecile. But these causes had not hitherto operated with such powerful effects, because they had been more remote, and had not fully penetrated their domain. The Mohawk canton felt he first effects, because it came into immediate contact when the Dutch settled at Albany and Schenectady. Hence it declined, and was on the eve of a dissolution at the commencement of the revolution. The latter event accelerated it, by opening those avenues which the royal government had been preparing, and at once completed their ruin. In 1776, the Mohawks broke up their settlements at Icanderago, Nowadaga, and other places on the banks of the Mohawk, and withdrew to Canada. The lands which they held escheated to the state. The lands which belonged to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, were the best in the state, and consequently held out great inducements to emigrants. To obtain these lands was an object of the utmost consideration. The value and im-

portance of these lands, first became known to the officers and soldiers composing the army of general Sullivan. Accordingly we find that in the years 1788 and 1789, agents were sent to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayuagas and Senecas, in order to obtain cessions by purchase. These agents succeeded in making purchases, and getting cessions of large tracts for nominal sums. Immediately after these purchases and cessions, large bodies of emigrants began to pour into the country of the Agoneaseah. Improvements were made and settlements formed on every side. The emigrations continued to flow into their country. The game soon disappeared, and the Agoneaseah were reduced to the necessity of cultivating the ground for their subsistence, which they had constantly declined doing before. The influx of strangers into their country, the loss of their lands, and destruction of the game, dispirited them. Some dispairing of living in the neighborhood of these strangers, retired out of the state; while those that remain have lost most of their energy and martial spirit. Such is the condition of the Agoneaseah who still reside in the state. The high character of the nation has fled. That martial spirit which inspired them to deeds of heroism has forsaken them. They are no longer dreaded by the other hunting tribes, and by civilized man.

The Senecas have a chief called Red Jacket by our people. He is represented to be a person of talents and eloquence. His name in the Agoneasean tongue is Sog-goo-ya-wau-tau. He resides near Buffalo in the county of Erie. His supremacy is in a measure acknowledged by the other Agoneasean tribes. The Cayugas and Senecas living on the Alleghany river have a chief named Cornplanter, by our people, who ranks as we understand, next to Sog-goo-ya-wau-ta. He is also represented to be talented and eloquent. The Agoneaseah call him Ki-ant-whau-ka. These chiefs have great influence over their countrymen, and command respect among our citizens. They are far advanced in years. Sog-goo-ya-wau-ta was presented with a medal by Washington.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Society, &c. among the Agoneaseah.

Mutual wants and dependencies seem at first to have induced men to enter into compacts, and to unite together in societies. The Agoneaseah, as well as the other hunting nations of North America, were beset with dangers and wants; hence it became an object of prime necessity for them to associate and unite, in order to avert the one and surmount the other. Hence, we find that not only the Agoneaseah, but all the other nations had made compacts and formed unions. The compacts and unions were very nearly alike among all the tribes and nations, however widely they might have been separated. These compacts and unions did not differ materially from those of the Asiatic tribes similarly circumstanced, as we shall hereafter show. In the infancy of society men are every where very nearly alike, a consequence growing out of a parity of wants, interests, and dangers.

The compact of the Agoneaseah was very simple; they had no nobility; no congress; no parliament; no president; no king; nor had they any magistrates. There was a perfect equality and liberty among all the members of the nation; assemblages were in the tribes or cantons; every man had a voice in these assemblages; age, valor, wisdom, and eloquence, alone gave weight and ascendency. Their proceedings were commonly slow, deliberate, and solemn. Every circumstance which they could foresee was taken into serious consideration; the probable good and evil, advantage, and detriment of every measure, were investigated and weighed; the prospects of success and disappointment were discussed and weighed in their meetings; the whole was a scene of consultation and advice; nothing was binding on the members; the advice, however, from its supposed wisdom and propriety, usually had the efficacy of a law enacted. Such seems to have been the proceedings and deliberations among the individual tribes of the confede-

racy. The Agoneaseah, besides these assembláges in tribes, had national assemblages at Onondaga. These assemblages consisted of the chiefs, distinguished warriors, and orators of the several tribes composing the nation. Onondaga, the ordinary place of meeting, was considered to be in the middle of the Agoneasean country; here all matters relating to the internal and external concerns of the nation were brought, discussed, and settled. The assemblage, or council as it was commonly called, had considerable weight and respect.

According to Cusick, a tree of peace was planted at Onondaga. The chiefs met and deliberated under it; here they smoked the pipe of peace in order to ratify their proceedings. A council fire was kindled under the tree. Onondaga was considered the heart of the country. Belts and strings of wampum were left as records of alliance and other acts.—See his sketches of the Six Nations.

The national council had the right of declaring war and making peace, and of concluding treaties, and exercising all acts of sovereignty. But, notwithstanding these prerogatives, its deliberations and resolves were not mandatory, unless sanctioned by the members of the several cantons. They were only recommendatory, since the members of the cantons might ratify, obey, or disannul them at pleasure. The strength and power of the government rested entirely in public sentiment. The chiefs were chosen from among the most renowned warriors and huntsmen. They, however, had no power or authority to enforce their counsels or compel their measures. They dwelt in the same kind of houses with the rest of the people, and had the same kind of food, clothing, and lodging. They had no badges, or marks of distinction; no ceremonies; no forms of induction into office were observed, or were in use among them. In external appearance, and other circumstances, they were on a level with the rest of the nation. The only thing which gave any weight or authority to their advice, or their orders, was the opinion which the public entertained of their wisdom, valor, and experience.

The Tartars usually elect their chiefs. On emergencies they elect a grand chief, called a Khan, who commands several tribes. In former times, whenever the confederacy was extensive, the

Tartars were formidable; their method of carrying on war was by wasting the country.

Smith, in his history of New-York, says, that "each of the tribes had its own chiefs, who heard and determined all complaints in council." In cases of emergency the tribes acted separately; but nothing could bind the nation but the voice of the general convention or council. The office of chief was bestowed on such only as were respected for their courage and wisdom.

David Cusick, in his sketches of the history of the Six Nations, published at Lewistown, Niagara county, in the year 1827, remarks, that "each tribe at present has two chiefs to settle disputes and some other matters."

Laws.—The laws of the Agoneaseah were constructed and laid upon a very slender foundation. They were not written. They had no statutes, decrees, ordinances, rules, or adjudications, like those of civilized nations. Their laws consisted of certain usages and customs, which, in most cases, had a binding effect. Their enforcement, however, depended on public sentiment. Their laws were not shackled with forms, ceremonies, delays, and adjournments, but were plain and simple, and easily understood; and attended with few or no delays. The penalties and punishments, in a certain description of cases, were disgrace, loss of reputation, and exclusion from society, and even death, according to the nature and aggravation of the offence or crime. The causes and occasions of offences were few, and did not in general much affect the nation. The chiefs usually interposed in those that arose between individuals, and counselled and advised. Disputes, in most cases, were amicably adjusted, and followed by reconciliations. But whenever the parties refused the friendly advice and admonitions of the chiefs, they had to leave them to settle matters between themselves. In cases of murder it belonged exclusively to the family and friends of the deceased to seek redress. The chiefs might in these cases interpose by way of counsel, but the relations and friends could accept or not, it being optional with them. If they dissented, nothing remained but to pursue the murderer, with a revenge that aimed at nothing short of destruction and death. From the imperfection and imbecility of such laws, every tribe was more or less troubled with

feuds, which were kept up from age to age, and which, in some instances, were attended with the assassination of nearly all the persons directly concerned. David Cusick, who is a Tuscarora by birth, in his Sketches of the Six Nations, informs us, that at this time "if a man commit murder, the nearest relation of the slain despatches the murderer with a war club; that the slain and the murderer are put into one grave. Sometimes the relation of the offender presents a belt of white wampum to make atonement."

Property.—The Agoneaseah had some ideas of property, but they differed very essentially from ours. Among them the lands of the forest were held and occupied in common. The ideas of the Moheakanneews, in relation to property, were analogous. All the lands were owned in common, but such as were under improvement. Every tribe had its domain. The tribes on the coast, between Massachusetts and Chesapeake bays, had, it would seem, made farther advances in this respect than the Agoneoseah, and other inland tribes. Among them certain shells were used as a medium in the sale and purchase of commodities. The Dutch, in their early intercourse with the Mohiccons, and other tribes on the Atlantic coast, adopted the same medium. The shells used were strung on a cord, and the different prices of articles were determined by a greater or smaller number.

Among the Agoneaseah the game of the forest, and the fish of the rivers, streams, and lakes, were also considered as belonging jointly to all the members of the nation; but whenever an individual had selected a spot of ground, and erected a house on it, and made an improvement, the right of the soil became vested in him so long as he occupied it. But whenever he abandoned it, it reverted to the tribe, and became the property of the next occupant. So of a cornfield, and other usu fruct. The game in the forest, and the fish in the rivers, streams, and lakes, became the property of him who acquired them by his skill, exertions, and industry. No one ever questioned his rights. These ideas of property were so well understood by every individual, that disputes seldom or never arose. With respect to their neighbors it was otherwise. When the Dutch first became acquainted with the Mohawks, very serious differences existed between them and the Moheakanneews, who

dwelt on the east side of the Hudson, concerning some of the islands in that river below the city of Albany. The limits of each independent state were defined. Rivers, creeks, lakes, mountains, and hills, were often boundaries between different and hostile communities. The heads of streams were also, in some instances, deemed bounds.

Agriculture.—The Agoneaseah had very little acquaintance with agriculture, being extremely averse to every kind of labor. The prospect of future good, and the apprehension of future evil, had no effect on them. They had very little solicitude about the future, but seemed content with the present. Nothing impelled them but the daily calls of nature, and when these were satisfied, they sunk again into supine indolence. Under such an order of things it could not be expected that agriculture would make much progress. Indeed we find it to have been in a low state, and in its very infancy. It was confined to the cultivation of some corn, pumpkins, squashes, and beans. They planted in May and June, and harvested in September and October. The women and children did most of the labor. The men despised work; hunting and war were their occupations. To be a dexterous hunter, or an intrepid warrior, was the height of their ambition. Part of their corn they used while it was in the milk, and before it was ripe; the residue they gathered when it was ripe, and laid it up for winter. It was not unusual for them to bury it in the ground. In the Mohawk country small hollows,or excavations in the earth, are to be seen at this day, in a few places that have not been ploughed, where they buried their corn. Some of the oldest persons now living in that country, say they remember the time when some of these excavations were made. They were in loamy lands. The corn buried was dry when taken out, and somewhat improved in quality.

M. de la Salle says, "that the Indians preserved their corn in holes made in the earth, and that they ground it between two stones." The same practice is retained to this time by those tribes who live remote from civilized man. Some of the Tartar nations practise the same. The Cossacks of the Ukraine, about one hundred and twenty years ago, buried their corn in the ground. The practice

of burying corn prevents its being taken by an enemy, in cases of surprise and invasion.

To clear the land was a slow and tedious operation; they, in the first place, bruised the bark of the trunks of the trees, near the ground, with stone axes, and tore it off, and then built fires around the trunks of the trees, whereby they killed them. In a few years the trees barked, and afterwards, killed by fire, decayed and fell to the ground. In this condition those of the most combustible kind were burned, while the others were allowed to rot. The practice of planting the ground the year after killing the timber, had a tendency towards improvement.

The instrument used in preparing the ground for seed and for planting, was a kind of a spade made of wood tempered in the fire. With this they loosened the soil and eradicated the weeds. They made holes for the reception of the seed with a pointed stick. In each hole they put four grains of corn, which they covered with earth. The holes were about three feet apart. The women and children weeded the corn, and when it had grown nearly waist high, they hilled it. Every family had its own cleared land. The cleared lands of several families were usually contiguous. The men, M. de la Salle informs us, fish and hunt, and the women till the ground, gather fruits and herbs. Similar remarks were made prior to those of M. de la Salle: and the like since he travelled among the Indians between Lower Canada and the Mississippi. In all parts of North America, inhabited by nations of Tartar extraction, the women and children had to till the ground. Among those nations that have had little intercourse with civilized man, the same custom is now in full force. The women have not only to plant, hoe, and harvest the corn, but carry the luggage when they march from one place to another, while the men go along at their ease.

When the corn was green, they either roasted it in the ear and ate it, or separated it from the cob by grating, and then wrapped it up in rolls in the form of cakes with the husks, and baked it in the embers. They also grated the corn when green, and boiled it with beans. The Indians of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, prepared their green corn in the same way. Mr. Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, in regard to their cooking, speaks thus:

"We have adopted some of their modes of cookery. Their roasted and boiled ears of corn; their *samp* and *homony;* their *nokehike,* which is corn parched and pounded, and their *suckatash,* which is a mixture of corn and beans boiled."

The corn that ripened, they pounded in wooden mortars, and made it into a kind of bread. They also parched their corn, and after pounding it, mixed it with fat. "The Schoharies," a clan of the Mohawks who resided on the banks of the Schoharie creek, "in the year 1713, had a large mortar in the town of Middleburgh, in which they pounded their corn. It was the stump of an oak tree hollowed by fire." See a printed pamphlet published by a Mr. Brown, a son of one of the first settlers. Mr. Belknap in his history of New Hampshire, says, "that the Indians pounded their corn in mortars of wood with pestles of stone."

The Agoneaseah derived their principal subsistence from the chase. Their country abounded with wild animals, such as the moose, elk, deer, bear, racoon, and beaver. These they pursued, attacked and killed. The meat which they laid up for winter was smoked and dried, in order to prevent it from spoiling. They had no salt. Some of the hunting tribes of North America had a practice of jerking their meat. This is performed in the following manner: the meat is cut into thin slices or strips, and dried and smoked over a moderate fire. Meat prepared in this way keeps a long time. In the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Maine, according to Belknap, the Indians preserved their meat during the winter in the snow. See vol. 3, of his History of New Hampshire.

The Agoneaseah commonly laid in their store for winter, in the months of November and December. The fish they usually caught in the spring and the early part of summer, when the game was lean. When they were successful in hunting and fishing, they had abundance, but when not, scarcity ensued. Every year they experienced plenty, and want. The appetite of the Agoneaseah, conformed to such an order of things. In seasons of plenty they indulged to excess. In seasons of want, they bore hunger with patience and fortitude. Excess and famine were alike familiar to them. Their health and constitution notwithstanding these transi-

tions, remained vigorous and sound under both. The Sku-ne-an-toh or deer, was the most useful game of the Agoneaseah. It inhabited all parts of their country. They pursued the *skuneantoh* or deer with small dogs. This animal when wearied betakes itself to water. The *con-ne-wau-skon-yogh-sa* or elk, dwelt south of lake Ontario. The *skon-yogh-sa* or moose, inhabited the spruce and hemlock region north of the Mohawk. The Buffalo dwelt south of lake Ontario. The bear (*oquare*;) the wolf (*oquahogh*,) and the beaver (*geneto*,) were found in all parts of their country. The region north of the Mohawk was never inhabited in the winter, on account of the depth of the snow.

Habitations.—These were for the most part, erected by the sides of rivers and creeks, and on the shores of lakes. They were either square or oblong, and without solidity, convenience, or elegance—the doors were low. They had neither windows nor chimneys. They were constructed with very rude materials. Crotched stakes were set in the ground, and connected with poles laid in the crotches, and others bound to them with strips of bark or withs. The stakes and poles constituted the skeletons or frames, and were covered with bark stripped from the trunks of living trees, and fastened with cords of elm bark, or some other kind of bark. The centre of the roof was raised, so as to allow water to descend from it. In general, these habitations excluded rain, snow, and wind. The hearth, or fire place was on the ground, in the middle of the building. It had neither back nor jambs. The smoke ascended through an aperture in the roof. Some of their habitations were large enough for the accommodation of forty or fifty persons. Their houses were dispersed in fields and small clearings, containing from a few acres to two or three hundred acres. They were in sight of each other, and were very much like those of the ancient Germans. The houses of all the Agoneaseah villages were thinly scattered over fields. Every considerable village had a castle, which consisted of a square plot of ground surrounded with pallisadoes. This was designed as an assylum fort heir old men, their wives, and their children, while the warriors were out on expeditions. These castles were slightly constructed, but served well enough for defence against the assaults of their rude neighbors.

Household Furniture &c.—Instead of bedsteads, the Agoneaseah had small platforms constructed with poles and covered with bark. On these they spread mats made of skins, and slept heads and points one by the other. They were covered or wrapped up in skins; these platforms served them also for seats. They had no chairs nor tables. Their pots and kettles were fabricated of stone or clay, and were made to boil by throwing heated stones into them. The Indians of New Hampshire and the adjoining states, had stone kettles; these had hollows either natural or artificial—fires were made by their sides and heated stones thrown into them. See vol. 3, of Belknap's history of New Hampshire. They had no ovens. Their mortars were of wood hollowed with fire. Their knives were made of wood hardened in the fire.

The Agoneaseah either boiled their meat in stone kettles, roasted it on the coals, or on crotched sticks before the fire. Their bread was made of pounded corn, and was baked either in green leaves laid under hot ashes, or on flat stones, or pieces of wood set before the fire. Bread was an article of luxury they seldom indulged themselves with. They also parched their corn and pounded it, and after moistening it with water or bear's grease, ate it. While the corn and beans were green, they prepared a dish by boiling them together. This dish, the Moheakanneews called *suckatash.* We have adopted not only the word, but the dish. The corn is usually separated from the cob before it is boiled, and in this condition put into a kettle with the beans When properly prepared, it is highly relished. They prepared another dish from corn called *samp.* The method of preparation was this. They cracked the corn in a mortar with a pestle, and then threw it into a kettle and boiled it. Our people have also adopted this dish. With them the corn is cracked in a mill, and afterwards sifted, in order to separate the huls: when it is boiled and eaten with milk. Their meat in winter they either preserved in the snow, or by smoking and drying. All these methods were practised.

The Agoneaseah had two modes of producing fire; the one was by chafing a dry pointed stick placed in a hole made in a square piece of wood; this they whirled round with such rapidity as to occasion combustion. The other was by eliciting a spark by the

collision of two flint stones, and precipitating it on punck, a kind of dry rotten wood.

Dress.—The Agoneaseah, before they had intercourse with the Dutch, English, and French, were clothed with the skins of wild beasts; such as those of the deer, bear, wolf, fox, racoon, beaver, &c. These they dressed with the hair on, and made them up into garments. Their whole wearing apparel consisted of a mantle, or kind of frock made of deer skins, or other skins lined with fur; a pair of leggins which came above the knees; moccasins, a species of shoes, and a small apron about the waist. They had no shirts, vests, breeches, pantaloons, stockings, hats, or caps. The mantle descended below the knees, and was girt about the waist with a broad belt, neatly ornamented with porcupine quills, feathers, and small bits of shells or bones. Every one made his own clothes. These they sewed or joined together with small strips of leather. Some of the Agoneaseah decorated their mantles with the figures of beasts, birds, and serpents, Such was the dress of these people in winter, and on particular occasions. In summer, they went almost naked, wearing little else than an apron or breech clout, which barely concealed those parts which decency forbade them to expose. The intrepid M. de la Salle in his Journal informs us, that in hot weather the Indians went naked, and in cold, dressed themselves with skins. M. de la Salle travelled in 1678, from Montreal to the Mississippi, by the way of lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and the river Illinois. In 1576, Sir Walter Raleigh, sent Captains Amidas and Barlow, on a voyage of discovery. They made the coast of North Carolina, and landed. A chief and his wife came on board. Her dress is thus described. She wore a long coat made of feathers, and had about her middle a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a band of white coral, in her ears were braclets of pearl, which hung down to her middle. Her hair was long. The dress of the husband was the same. His hair was long on one side of his head, and short on the other. The decorations about his head and ears were like those of his wife. The other females had pendants of copper in their ears. The chiefs whom they saw, had five or six pendants of copper affixed to their ears. Captain Gosnoll in a voyage to Martha's

Vineyard, and the adjoining parts of the continent in 1602, remarks, that the males and females were attired in skins ; the men had collars, cups, and chains of copper. See Smith's Voyages.

The Susquehannocks, when visited by Captain Smith in 1606, were attired with the skins of wild beasts. Smith observes, some have their cassocks, or close garments, made of bears heads and skins.

The Agoneaseah shaved the hair on the sides of their head, but allowed the rest to grow long, which they tied in a kind of cue on the crown. They made holes in their ears and noses, in which they wore rings, and other baubles. Some had their faces, breasts, arms, hands, and legs, embroidered with the figures of animals, imprinted in their skin by punctures, very much in the same manner that our sailors have devices imprinted on their arms, &c. of anchors, &c. Their bodies were smeared with grease, and their heads, faces, breasts, and arms, were painted with the juice of certain plants. They used red, green, blue, yellow, and black paints. These they laid in square, rhomboidal, round, and other patches. They ornamented their heads with feathers, the wings of birds, the tails of quadrupeds, and rattles taken from the tail of the rattle-snake.

The dress of the women differed very little from that of the men, only they wore fewer ornaments. Their hair they plaited, and tied up behind in a small bag.

The Agoneaseah, after they became acquainted with the Dutch, and other civilized nations, laid aside the mantle, and substituted the blanket. The historian Smith describes their dress in his time, as follows: "As to clothes, they use a blanket, girt at the waist, and thrown loosely over their shoulders. Some of the women have besides this, a sort of petticoat, and some of their men wear shirts ; but the greater part of the men are generally naked. In winter their legs are covered with stockings, or leggins, made of blankets, and their feet with socks, or moccasins, of deer skins. They are extremely fond of ornament. They have rings affixed to their ears and noses, and bracelets of silver and brass around their wrists."

The men shaved the hair of the head, except that upon the crown and towards the forehead, which they suffered to grow long, and tied up and passed through a short tube. Many of those living

among us retain this custom to this day. They use a silver or ti tube, four or five inches long, and about five-eights of an inch i diameter. They stain those parts of the head which are shaved red. The custom of cutting their hair, except on the crown of th head, and tying the residue, is very ancient. The Tartars hav the like custom.

Warlike Instruments, &c.—These consisted of bows, arrows hatchets, clubs, spears, swords, knives, and targets, or shields. Th bow was five or six feet long; their arrows were made of wood and pointed with bones, or flints, two or three inches long. They used the bow with great dexterity, and could hit an object with an arrow at a considerable distance. They had two kinds of hatchets, o axes, the one was of stone, and the other of deer's horn. Both were fastened to handles of wood. The former was in most general use. It was seven or eight inches in length, and about four in breadth, of an oval form, flattened and brought to an edge at one end. Near the other end there were two grooves, the one on the one side, and the other on the other in which the handle was fastened. Mr. Belknap, in his history of New Hampshire, Vol. 3, mentions the method of fastening the handle used by the Indians of New Hampshire, which was this: "When the stone was prepared they chose a very young sapling, and splitting it near the ground, they forced the hatchet into it as far as the groove, and left nature to complete the work by the growth of the wood, so as to fill the groove, and adhere firmly to the stone. They then cut off the sapling above and below, and the hatchet was fit for use." Their swords and knives were made of wood, tempered in the fire. With the knife they could flay a deer, or other beast, joint it, cut out mantles, aprons, leggins, and moccasins. They had also knives made of flint or of hornstone. Their clubs and spears were of wood. The latter were hardened in the fire Their targets, or shields, were round, or slightly oval, and were made of skins stretched over wood. The Agoneaseah, after they became acquainted with the Europeans, laid aside their own weapons, and purchased guns, tomahawks, knives, &c. In the travels and voyages of M. de la Salle we find these words: "Their knives are sharp stones; a bone or tooth, or sharp stone, is inserted in the end of their arrow. They

have heavy war clubs, or sharp sticks. They also use wooden corslets against arrows and bucklers, made of several skins stitched together; the corslet corresponded with the shield. The shield, or corslet, they held in the left hand in front of their body; with it they warded off arrows, stones, thrusts, and blows. They had stone chisels and gouges. The former was five or six inches long, and about two inches wide, flatted and brought to an edge; the latter was like the chisel, only it was hollow between the edges.

Fishing Implements.—These were hooks, spears, arrows, wires, and nets. The hooks were made of bones, or the splinters of bones, and were fastened to lines. The spears were long staves, pointed with bones, or flints, serrated. They used hooks and spears very much the same as our people now use them. The arrows were barbed, and had a small cord tied to them. These they discharged from bows. Their nets were fabricated, either of the sinews or skins of animals, cut into strips, or of bark taken from trees in the early part of summer. They were very dexterous in fishing. The rivers, creeks, and lakes of their country, were well stored with divers kinds of fish.

Canoes.—The Agoneaseah in the construction of canoes displayed considerable ingenuity. They had two kinds of these vehicles; the one was of wood, and the other of bark. The former was made of the trunk of a large tree, hollowed mostly with fire. The process of hollowing and shaping the canoe was very slow and tedious, in consequence of their not having iron tools, and was as follows: They commenced by building fires on the upper side of the tree, and, after having burned some parts, extinquished them. They then scraped away the coals, and charred wood, with stone chisels and gouges. This being done they built other fires, and quenched them, and renewed the scrapings. Thus they continued the building and extinguishing of fires, and the scrapings, till they had hollowed it out. The same process they followed in rounding the stern, prow, and sides, in order to give a proper form to the external parts. These canoes were usually from twenty to forty feet long, and would carry from five to twenty men. The canoes in use among our people are made in the same form. The latter was made of the bark of the birch, or elm

tree, commonly of the former, stripped entire from the trunk. The trees in the latter, as well as the former, they felled by building fires around their bodies, at or near the ground. The bark taken from the trunk they formed into the shape of a boat; and to give it more strength and solidity, they placed ribs in the inside, and sowed them to the sides and bottom with thongs. The whole was made water tight. In these structures, apparently so frail, four or five persons could navigate rivers and lakes. They impelled the canoe with paddles; their dexterity in the management of these vessels was very remarkable. The bark canoes of the Agoneaseah were so light that two persons could carry one of them. Hence they used to transport them from the navigable waters of one stream to those of another. The carrying places they called Teugh-waugh-quatbogh. The aborigines of other parts of North America had, and still have, their portages or carrying places.

The Tartars make bark canoes. To these they give solidity by means of ribs, or thin pieces of wood, placed in the inside, which are bent and stitched to the bark with strips of leather or bark. The bark canoes of the Tartars and North American Indians are made on the same plan, and have a perfect resemblance. Here, then, we have an instance of portions of the people of both hemispheres, living under similar circumstances, constructing boats alike.

The Agoneaseah taught the Dutch how to dress deer skins. In the process of tanning they use the brains and fat of the animal. The leather thus dressed is soft and pliable, and very beautiful. The Moheakanneews had the same art. Moccasins made of deer's skins dressed by the Agoneaseah were very handsome. They command a high price at present.

The Agoneaseah, in their winter excursions, wore on their feet snow shoes. With these they could travel over the deepest snow without sinking. Our hunters have adopted these shoes. With these they can travel through the northern forest, between the Mohawk and St. Lawrence rivers, in the depth of winter.

The Agoneaseah were unacquainted with the use of iron. Destitute of this important metal, all their warlike implements and tools were rude, and of small use. No nation can make any considerable progress in civilization and the arts, without an acquaintance

with the use of this most important of all metals. It is iron that has enabled civilized man to vanquish the wilds of nature, and attain that distinguished rank which he now holds.

Roads.—The Agoneaseah had paths which led from one settlement to another, and from one canton to another. The main one extended from the Hudson, in the vicinity of Albany, westwardly to Buffalo. It passed through Schenectady, Icanderago, Canajoharie, Nawadaga, Germanflats, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Genesee, Tonnawanta, and thence to Buffalo. This was the first in importance. The second led from Icanderago to Schoharie, and thence to Catskill. The third led from Schenectady to Schoharie, and intersected that from Icanderago; the fourth led from the city of Albany, westwardly, over the Helderberg, to Schoharie, where it ended. The Germans who first settled Schoharie, travelled on foot along this path. The fifth led from Canajoharie to Schoharie. It united with the path leading from Icanderago to Schoharie, on or near the boundary between the counties of Montgomery and Schoharie. The Germans who settled Stone Arabia, and Germanflats, travelled on it. The Germans of Schoharie, Stone Arabia, and Germanflats, continued to use this road in their intercourse until 1762, or 1763, when roads, to facilitate intercourse between these settlements, were made. The sixth led from Schoharie to Oquago, in the county of Broome. The seventh led from Albany, northwardly, to Saratoga. The eighth led across the counties of Saratoga and Schenectady, to the Mohawk. The ninth led from the Mohawk to the Sacondaga river, striking the latter stream at or near the Fish House. The tenth led from Canajoharie, or rather Fort Plain, in Minden, to Otsego lake. The eleventh led from Nowadaga to the latter lake. The twelfth, from Germanflats, led to Schuyler's lake. It forked in Warren, the left fork leading to Otsego lake. Parties of the Mohawks used to go every year and encamp on the shores of these lakes for the purpose of hunting. The thirteenth led from Oneida to the river Chenango, and thence down that stream to Chenango point. The fourteenth led from Onondaga to the Tioughnioga, &c. The fifteenth led from the same place to Oswego. The sixteenth led from Cayuga Castle to the Susquehanna. The seventeenth led from the Genesee to the Conhocton, and thence to Tioga, and other places.

There were many other paths. Along the valley of the Mohawk there were two, the one being on the one side and the other on the other side of that river. These paths connected the several villages and hamlets on that river. The paths, or roads, were in the greatest numbers in the Mohawk and Seneca cantons, owing to their being more populous than the others.

These paths were narrow and winding, but in the main very direct. Whoever has seen the paths of our people through meadows, fields, and woods, leading from one house to another, on which only footmen, women, and children travel, may form a very correct idea of Indian roads. The trail beaten was seldom over fifteen inches broad, and always passed by trees, leaving them on the right and left, and usually around swamps. Small streams they crossed on logs, and rivers and lakes in canoes. On these paths the Agoneaseah travelled in single file. The Dutch who first settled at Schenectady, and the Germans who first settled at Schoharie, Stone Arabia, and Germanflats, travelled on these paths in the same manner. The Germans of Schoharie, in the early period of the settlement, went to Schenectady to mill, on the path leading from one place to the other, carrying their grists on their backs. These paths were, for the most part, on dry ground. Many of our roads at this day run on and near where these paths were. War parties during the contest between the Agoneaseah and Lenni Lenape used to march on some of these paths, especially on those leading from Icanderago and Canajoharie to Schoharie, and on that leading from the last place to Catskill. Parties also marched from the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca cantons, to the boatable waters of the Susquehanna, on the paths leading from those cantons to those waters, where they embarked in canoes, and descended that river as far as the head of Chesapeake bay. In this contest the invaders descended these streams in the largest numbers.

Captain Smith, in 1607, while exploring the head of Chesapeake bay, fell in with several Agoneasean canoes loaded with warriors. These had descended the Susquehanna from Tioga, or some other point on that river.

In winter the Agoneasean paths were usually obstructed with snow, except those between villages in the vicinity of one another.

This happened in 1690, when Schenectady was burnt by the French. The Mohawk messengers despatched by Major Schuyler to Icanderago, (Fort Hunter,) to apprise the Mohawks residing there, were two days on their way, although the distance is only twenty miles. The snow was very deep.—See Smith's history of New-York. The Agoneaseah usually travelled on the snow with snow shoes.

The Agoneaseah never cut down trees in order to make roads, nor did they ever remove those that fell across their paths. They had no bridges. Their roads were simply trails beaten by footmen. These trails were universally shaded by forest trees. A sombre silence, now and then interrupted by the notes of birds, or the howling of beasts, reigned along these paths.

The Agoneaseah used to halt at certain stations along these paths, in order to take refreshments, or encamp over night. These stations were by springs or streams of water, and usually on dry ground. Arrow heads, spear heads, and axes, are occasionally found at these stations.

Hunting.—The Agoneaseah spent much of their time in hunting. In this avocation they exhibited great adroitness. Most of their subsistence was derived from this source. Every year they formed hunting parties, and marched to places situated at a distance from their habitations. There they constructed temporary erections and encamped. In these hunting excursions their wives and children usually accompanied them. The women carried the baggage. Every day they went from their encampments in pursuit of game. These hunting parties commonly consisted of from twenty to one hundred men. The season chosen for hunting was the latter part of autumn and the fore part of winter. The game at those times was good, and they laid in their winter provision. Sometimes when they found the deer in considerable herds, they formed a circle and built fires; between these fires the men were mostly placed at equal distances, while a few went within and roused the deer. The timorous animals directed their course to the circle, where they were met by the huntsmen and fires, and soon killed. When the party was numerous they advanced from the circle to the centre, and completely surrounded the deer. In both modes they imitated the Tartars.

Cough-sagh-rage, the beaver hunting country, or the Dismal Wilderness, was the region where they hunted the beaver, and occasionally the deer and moose. This region embraced the greater part of the country between lakes Champlain and Ontario, and the Mohawk and St. Lawrence rivers. Here the beavers were found in very large numbers. In the unsettled parts of this region numerous vestiges of beaver dams are to be seen at this day. The beavers are now mostly destroyed. Before the Europeans made settlements in this state and Canada, the Agoneaseah, and other hunting nations, never killed game beyond their immediate wants. Hence the game was ordinarily plenty. But since these settlements were made they have destroyed the game barely for the skins, which they have sold to the traders for rum, blankets, toys, arms, and ammunition. This deviation from the ancient practice caused a diminution in the game, which sensibly affected the tribes. Still, however, no very serious evils resulted until our people became numerous; then the game was swept away in a few years, and the Agoneaseah found it impossible to subsist by hunting. This has been exemplified in a remarkable manner in our western and northern countries since the revolution

Small parties, not unfrequently, remained out all winter. The weapons used in hunting were bows and arrows, stone axes, clubs, and spears. Bears, panthers, wolves, and deer, were dispatched with clubs and spears, after being wounded with arrows. They caught martins, beavers, and some other animals, in log traps. Pits for the taking of game were not unknown to them. The Moheakanneews called the log trap Culheag.

The Agoneaseah had a practice of burning the woods in the spring, in certain places frequented by the deer. The fire consumed the leaves, brush, and much of the fallen timber, and killed more or less of the living trees. Grass and small bushes sprang up and afforded nutritious food, and induced the deer to repair to those places to graze.

War.—The Agoneaseah were frequently engaged in wars and bloody contests with their neighbors. These arose from real or supposed encroachments on their hunting grounds, disputes between individuals, and various other causes. The manner in which they

carried on their wars was very different from that of civilized nations. Before they set out the warriors assembled and held a war dance. Their bodies and faces were painted with red and various other colors, which rendered their appearance both whimsical and frightful. The weapons with which they were armed were bows and arrows, stone axes, spears, swords, clubs, knives, and shields. The shield was used to cover their bodies when missile weapons were thrown at them, and to ward off blows and thrusts. Thus armed they marched, every one having provided himself with a small bag of parched corn, or meal tempered with fat, and some jerked venison. The number that marched varied according to circumstances. None were compelled to go. All were volunteers. In their march they separated into small parties, that they might the more readily supply themselves by hunting. When they approached near the country of the enemy their parties were more collected. All was then caution, stratagem, secrecy, and ambuscade. Their employment as hunters had taught them great address and vigilance. They waited with patience and perseverance till they found a favorable moment for attack. They then on a signal rushed from their coverts upon their enemies with horrid shouts, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. All was then a scene of fury and vengeance. They paid no attention to discipline, order, or subordination. Their only aim was the destruction of their foes. If they prevailed, they scalped and stripped the slain. They then retired, and carried along with them the spoils, scalps, and prisoners. Upon their arrival near their own habitations, they dispatched a messenger to announce their return and success. The tribe or town collected, and the warriors made their entry with the spoils, scalps, and prisoners. The scalps, stretched upon a bow, and elevated upon a pole, were carried before them as tokens of their valor and success, and as monuments of the vengeance they had inflicted upon the enemies of their country.

The prisoners made an important part of their triumph. These they treated while on their way home with some humanity and kindness; but they took the greatest care to prevent their escape. When they had arrived at the place of their destination, the old men, the women, and children, formed themselves into two lines, through

which the prisoners had to run the gauntlet to the town. If the prisoner was young, active, and a good runner, he made his way through without much injury; but if he was weak, old, and infirm, he received much damage by the blows and bruises given him. When this scene was finished, the prisoners were bound and conducted to a place of security, and treated with apparent good humour. The head warrior then related the particulars of the expedition. When he mentioned their losses, a bitter grief and sorrow was manifested by the whole assembly. When he pronounced the names of the dead, their wives, their relations, and friends, put forth the most bitter shrieks and lamentations; but no one interrupted the speaker, or asked any question. The last ceremony was to proclaim the victory. Then every individual apparently forgot his own loss and misfortune, and joined in the triumph. Their tears ceased, and with one of the most unaccountable transitions in human nature, they passed at once from the bitterness of sorrow to all the extravagance of joy. The whole was then concluded with feasting, singing, and dancing.

The fate of the prisoners was next decided. The elders and chiefs assembled and deliberated concerning their destiny. The women and children were disposed off according to the pleasure of the captors. But they were seldom or never put to death. Of the men, some were appointed to supply the places of such as had fallen in battle. These were then delivered to the friends and relations of the deceased, and if they received them, they were adopted into the family, and succeeded to all the privileges of the deceased, and were esteemed as friends, brothers, and relations. But if they were not received and admitted into the family, or if they were destined to be put to death, a most distressing and horrid scene ensued. A stake was fixed firmly in the ground. At the distance of eight or ten feet, dry wood, faggots and leaves were placed in a circle round the stake. The warriors, and the whole population of the town, were assembled to bear their part in the cruel tragedy. The prisoner was led to the stake, and tied to it by his hands, in such a manner, that he might move freely around it. Fire was then set to the circle of wood, faggots and leaves, that as it run round, the unhappy victim might be forced to run the same

way. As the sufferings of the prisoner began to become severe, the acclamations of the spectators began. The men, women and children, strove to exceed each other in finding new and more excruciating methods of torment. Some applied red hot stones; others stabbed with their knives and spears, and others mangled and tore off the flesh; others again bit off the nails, or twisted and tore the sinews. Every species of cruelty that savage rancor and revenge could invent and apply, was tried upon the wretched sufferer. But great care was taken that the vital parts might not be so injured as to bring the torments of the victim to a speedy end. In this horrid situation, the sufferer was undaunted and intrepid. He reviled and insulted his tormentors, and accused them of cowardice, meanness, and want of spirit; as ignorant, unskilful, and destitute of ingenuity and invention in the art of tormenting. Not a groan; not a sigh; not a tear or even a sorrowful look was suffered to escape him. To scoff his tormentors, to display undaunted courage in this dreadful situation, was the most noble of all the triumphs of the warrior. With an undaunted countenance, and with the decisive tone of dignity and superior importance, the prisoner proceeded with them to sing the song of his death. "Intrepid and brave, I feel no pain, and I fear no torture, I have slain, I have conquered, I have burnt mine enemies, and my countrymen will avenge my blood; ye are a nation of dogs, of cowards and women; ye know not how to conquer, to suffer, and to torture. Prolong and increase my torments, that ye may learn from my example how to suffer, and behave like men."

With such heroic magnanimity and fortitude, the sufferer persevered under every method of torment and torture. Wearied with cruelty, and tired with tormenting a man whose fortitude they could not move, one of the chiefs in a rage, concluded the scene by knocking the prisoner on the head, or stabbing him to the heart. See Charlevoix' History of New France.

The following account of the death of a Narragansett prisoner, is found in Mr. Hubbard's narrative of the Indian wars in New England. We have thought proper to give it, because it differs in some respects.

Among the prisoners taken by the Mohegans, the allies of the

colonists, there was an active young man whom they singled out, and doomed to torture and death. A large circle was formed, so that the eyes of all the spectators might feast on the tortures of this young man.[1] Every thing being ready, the prisoner was introduced and marched to the centre, where he was fastened to a stake. This being done; they first cut one of his fingers round in the joint, at the trunk of his hand, with a sharp knife, and then broke it off. They then cut and broke off another, and so on, till they dismembered one hand of all its fingers, the blood sometimes spirting out in streams a yard; the wretched and unhappy sufferer not discovering any signs of anguish. In the second place, they dismembered the other hand of all its fingers in the same way; when they severed the toes off one foot, one by one, and afterwards those of the other. All the time the dismemberment lasted, he continued to dance round the stake, and joined with the company in singing his death song. At length, being exhausted, and his tormentors wearied with the horrid spectacle, they broke his legs, and by and by knocked out his brains.

The Aganuschioni, when taken by their enemies and doomed to die at the stakes, uffered with the same invincible courage. The custom of burning prisoners at the stake, was practised by all the American nations of Tartar origin. It was not however common. It seemed to have been a kind of honor, reserved almost exclusively for the warriors, and was designed as a test of their courage and constancy.

When the prisoners were adopted, they were treated with great kindness and affection. They held the same rank as the deceased person whose place they filled, and were treated with all the tenderness due to the husband, brother or friend.

As the Aganuschioni were fond of war, every art was contrived to diffuse a military spirit through the whole body of the people. They had their war dances. At these, the warriors recounted and sang their own exploits, and those of their ancestors, and thereby kindled and roused a military ardor and enthusiasm in the whole company. They also had sham fights. In these, they were painted armed and marshalled, as if they had been going against an enemy. They were divided into two companies. On some occasions, there

were two hundred on a side. The one party was called Aganuschioni, and the other Lenni Lenape, Adirondacks, or some other name. Each party had its chiefs. All the evolutions and tactics peculiar to the American nations, were brought into requisition. They discharged arrows, and then rushed from their coverts with horrible shouts, and engaged in single combat. The one party would fall back, and the other would advance. This in its turn would retire, and the other would follow. As they obtained advantages, they seized their enemies by the hair of their head, and threw them on the ground, where, with their clubs or stone axes, they seemed to beat out their brains. In this manner, they continued the fight for an hour, or longer, fighting, retreating, and advancing, till at length the Lenni Lenape, or Adirondacks began a retreat, feigning to be beat, when the Aganuschioni charged them and put them to flight. All their actions, voices, and gestures, both in charging, combating, and retiring, were so natural, that a stranger imagined them real. When the Aganuschioni inclined to peace, a messenger was sent to the enemy with a pipe, the bowl of which, was made of red sandstone, and a long reed beautifully painted and adorned with the gay plumage of birds, formed the stem. This pipe or calumet, as the French called it, was an infallible protection from any assault on the way. The messenger, on his arrival made his proposals to the enemy, who, if they approved them, ratified the preliminaries to the peace, by smoking through the pipe. A cessation of arms ensued, and a peace followed. All the surrounding nations had the same kind of pipes. The rights of the calumet were always respected and esteemed sacred.

The Agoneaseah, and many of the other hunting nations of North America, had rude fortifications constructed sometimes in the woods, and sometimes in their clearings. These were designed to secure the women, children, and old men, and their property, while the warriors were out on hostile expeditions, or as places of refuge when invaded. Hubbard, in his narrative of the Indian wars of New England, informs us, that the Pequods and Narragansetts had places of defence constructed—he calls them forts. Cotton Mather in his magnalia, also speaks of them. The Pequoids, when surprised by the forces of the United colonies under Captain Mason,

had assembled to the number of six hundred, and were encamped in an enclosure made of pickets and brush. In the voyages and discoveries of Captain John Smith, we find that he visited several places that were fortified in a similar manner. He speaks in particular about one near the coast of Chesapeake bay, and not far from the mouth of the Susquehanna. This he visited in 1606, and about the time that the Agoneaseah opened a way to Chesapeake bay. The inhabitants in the vicinity were collected in it, and had just repulsed a band of the Masawomecks (Agoneaseah,) who had attempted to storm it. The Lenni Lenape had fortified enclosures. In the Agoneasean commonwealth, there were considerable numbers of these enclosures. The English called them castles. There were in 1690, three or four of these castles between Schenectady and Icanderago. The French, not long afterwards, in a winter's expedition, surprised them and captured three hundred Mohawks, whom they carried to Canada. There was one at Icanderago, (Fort Hunter,) which was taken by the French in 1665, and destroyed. Similar works of defence were at Caughnewaga, Oswegatchie, Canajoharie, Nowadaga, Kow-o-go-con-nugh-ha-rie-gugh-ha-rie, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Genesee, and Tonnawanta. In speaking of castles now, we say, the Indian castle, the Oneida castle, the Onondaga castle, &c.

The Aganuschioni, owing to their union, numbers, and bravery, vanquished and conquered most of their neighbors. Nearly all the tribes acknowledged their supremacy, and paid them an annual tribute in skins, toys, and baubles. Few or no innovations were made in the laws, or internal government. The subjugated, had their own rulers, and managed and attended to their own concerns. In general, they were deprived the right of making peace or war. In cases of sudden invasion, they were, however, allowed to take up arms to defend their persons, their wives, their children, and possessions, and repel the invaders.

The Chihohocki, the Unami, the Munsies, the Wabingas, or Mohickanders, and the Mohiccons, the tribes which constituted the confederacy of the Lenni Lenape, had the right of the soil in the countries where they lived. The Dutch, and after them the English purchased lands of them, and entered into compacts. The

lands in the southeastern parts of the state, with some small exceptions, were purchased of the Mohiccons and Wabingas; those around Albany and on the Mohawk of the Mohawks. Each of the members of the Aganuschionian confederacy owned a tract of country, which was held and occupied by all the individuals in common, except a few small spots where houses were erected, and clearings made. These were possessed and owned by the different individuals who occupied them.

After the conquests, the Aganuschioni sent out several war colonies, who settled in the countries of the conquered. The Aughquaghas who resided at Oquago, and other places along Susquehanna river, were a colony of this description. The Mingoes on the Ohio below Pittsburg were another. The Cohunnewagoes, near Sandusky in Ohio, were a third. These served to overawe and keep the vanquished in subjection. There were other colonies, but from the scanty materials left us by the early settlers, it is difficult to designate their respective locations. In 1678, there were several villages of the Agoneaseah near Cadaraqui (Kingston) in Upper Canada, in the country of the Hurons.

Education.—This consisted in training the youth to hunting, war, and oratory. To possess address and dexterity in hunting; to be patient, firm, and persevering, in hardships and sufferings; to have fierceness, inveteracy, and intrepidity in war; and to be able to make a speech, seemed to be their chief desires. These they cultivated with the utmost attention. In oratory they attained the greatest eminence. Public speaking was much studied, and in very high estimation. They were extremely fond of method and simplicity, because the audience could easliy understand and remember. Their speeches were short and laconic; and the sense conveyed in strong and bold metaphors. Their words were few, but their style was highly figurative, and very expressive and vigorous. Their delivery was grave, animated, and decisive. The fierceness of their countenances, the flowing mantle, naked arm, erect posture, and elevated tone, conveyed to the spectator a lively image of the orators of ancient Greece and Rome. In saying this much, we cannot after all agree with certain speculative writers, who have compared their eloquence with that of the best orators of Greece

and Rome, and that of the moderns, because it would be admitting that man without letters is equal in knowledge to him that possesses them; an admission which every day's experience contradicts. We have read Indian speeches embellished by the learned, but we never read one that would compare with those of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, Grattan, and Curran. We are aware it may be said that Logan's is equal. We have no evidence that Logan delivered the one attributed to him. Besides, if we had, it is limited to five or six sentences, being a message sent to the governor of Virginia, and will not compare with the most ordinary speeches of Burke and Curran. Any man of good sense, circumstanced as Logan was, would have expressed himself in a similar manner. It was the language of nature. His wife, his children, and relations, had been inhumanly butchered by the whites, and without any cause, he always having been very friendly to them.

The Agoneaseah had, and still have, a method of assisting their memories, which is this: The chief who presides has a bundle of sticks prepared for the purpose, and at the close of every principal article delivered, gives a stick to another, charging him with the remembrance of it. By this means the speaker, after a previous harrangue, is prepared to repeat every part, and give it its proper reply. They formerly pursued this custom in all their public treaties.—See Smith's Hist. of N. Y.

Medicine.—The Agoneaseah had some acquaintance with medicine. They had discovered the use and application of certain roots and herbs abounding in their country. These they prepared and administered, in certain cases, with skill and success. The medical knowledge which they possessed, was the result of such observations as experience and time had dictated to them. Every thing appertaining to the art was kept a secret. Neither flattery, threats, or money, could induce them to make a disclosure. They had their regular physicians. These were merely quacks, and very much like those found among civilized nations, only they possessed more skill. In certain instances they steamed their patients. They had buildings erected in all their considerable towns for this purpose. These erections were small and close. The steam patient was taken to the steam house and put into it. Bowls

of water were placed about him, into which red hot stones were thrown. A powerful steam was raised. A sudden and profuse perspiration was excited. The quack doctors during the steaming and perspiration, and after these were over, made use of rattles, drums, and incantations, or charms. The Lenni Lenape, according to Colonel Smith, had steam or sweat houses. The priests, or magicians of this people, used to prepare themselves, on particular occasions, for devotional exercises, by entering these dormitories and taking profuse sweats. See Hist. of New Jersey, by Colonel Smith. The sick were taken to these domicils.

The most common diseases among the Agoneaseah were consumption, pleurisy, bilious and intermittent fevers, colds, and rheumatism. Unacquainted with the manners, customs, and luxuries of sedentary nations, they had few maladies.

In wounds and sores they often exhibited considerable skill. They readily cured the bite of the rattlesnake, copper-head, and adder. But after all their knowledge was very limited, and not much greater than that of our old women.

In this article we may possibly give umbrage to our Indian doctors, and their credulous patients, and those who have unbounded faith in their skill; but we declare this is not our intention. Besides, every man is at full liberty to employ whom he pleases. In every country there are impostures, and dupes. These may for a time injure science, and one of the noblest of all professions; but sooner or later the former will be detected and discarded, and the latter get their eyes open. Experience, according to the proverb, is much better than bought wit.

Music.—Like other savage nations the Agoneaseah had their bards, who rehearsed and sang the heroic deeds of their ancestors. Their songs were solemn, grave, and martial, and usually connected with the serious and important affairs of life. They had no written music; it was altogether oral. They had their war songs, their songs of victory, love, and death. These, like their speeches, were short, concise, striking, and energetic. Unrestrained enthusiasm is the prime characteristic of all the poetry of savages. The poems of the Celtic, Gothic, and Scandinavian bards, abound in

striking objects, and natural flights of the imagination. Those of Ossian, or those attributed to him, furnish examples.

The Agoneaseah had made less advances in instrumental than in vocal music. The only instruments in use among them were drums, rattles, and pipes, or canes. The drum was not unlike a deep platter covered. It consisted of wood, and the skin of some animal. The skin was bound over the top with cords, which could be tightened or slackened at pleasnre. Two drumsticks were used in playing. The rattles were made of gourd shells, or of wood. The pipe or cane was hollow, and consisted of wood. The dissonant sounds of these rude instruments, added to their vocal music, tended rather to terrify than to delight. In battles they used drums, rattles, and pipes, to excite the warriors to engage more resolutely in combat.

Dancing.—Among the Agoneaseah, as well as among the other American nations, dancing was a pleasing recreation, and a favorite amusement. All their dances were descriptive, and exhibited some action, or series of actions. The imitation was usually so happily executed, that the spectator supposed it real. Their dances were generally carried on by the men; and it was but seldom that the women were allowed to join in them. All the steps, motions, gestures, and figures, were expressive, and significant of the business or transaction it was intended to denote. If war was to be proclaimed, the dance was expressive of the resentment and rage they bore to their enemies, and of the hostile manner in which they intended to treat them. The war dance was very affecting and emblematic. It was the exact representation or image of a campaign. The performers entered with enthusiastic ardor. They appeared as if departing from their country and entering that of the enemy, surprising, and conquering their foes, seizing their prisoners, scalping the slain, and returning in triumph to their country. And so rapid, precise, and dreadful was the representation, that the uninformed spectator was struck with horror, and looked to see the ground covered with mangled bodies. The peace dance was different. It was significant that the hatchet was buried, and that they would live in friendship with their enemies.

The following are the names of their dances: The war dance;

the peace dance; the calumet dance; the chiefs' dance; the set out dance; the scalp dance; the prisoner's dance; the dead dance; the return dance; the marriage dance; the sacrifice dance; the spear dance; the misfortune dance; the sickness dance, &c.

Hospitality.—The Agoneaseah were kind, liberal, and humane, to strangers. They gratuitously shared with them their coarse food, shelter, and lodging. Their hospitality and friendship were sincere and ardent. Hospitality prevailed among them to a very high degree. It was like that among the ancients. They considered it as a virtue, and as such cultivated and cherished it with the utmost assiduity. To have turned a stranger away would have been deemed unkind, disrespectful, and inhuman, and would have brought indelible disgrace on him who did it. Nor was this noble virtue limited to strangers; they were affectionate, kind, generous, and humane to one another. There were no paupers and beggars among them. Hospitality and generosity were acts of the head, not of parade and ostentation, as are but two frequently the case with civilized nations. Hardships and adversity soften the hearts of men. In humble life man is most benevolent, kind, and hospitable. Property and prosperity elevate our minds, harden our feelings, and estrange our sensibilities. The hospitality of the ancients grew out of their poverty and peculiar condition. The modern Arab, who would rob you in the desert, will share his last morsel with the stranger who comes under his tent. Charlevoix, the historian of New France, (Canada,) in speaking of the Indians, says, "they rarely deviate from certain maxims and usages, founded on good sense alone, which hold the place of laws. They manifest much stability in the engagements they have entered upon." Mr. Cushman, in a sermon which he delivered to the colonists of Plymouth, observes, "the Indians have been kind, obliging, generous, humane, and hospitable, to us. When there were not six able or well persons among us, they came daily by hundreds to see us, with their sachems, and administered to our wants. They never offered us the least injury in word or deed." Governor Hutchinson remarks, "that the natives showed courtesy to the English at their first arrival; were hospitable, and made such as would eat their food welcome to it; and readily instructed them in planting

and cultivating corn. Some of the English who lost themselves in the woods, they relieved and conducted home." The celebrated William Penn, the founder of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, "speaks in the highest terms of their hospitality, kindness, and benevolence." Colonel Smith, in his history of New Jersey, makes similar remarks. Du Pratz, in speaking of the Indians of Florida, and Louisiana, and the adjoining parts, informs us, that "no people are more hospitable and generous." Bartram has observations of the same import. Hospitality and generosity were virtues common to all the hunting nations of North America.

Marriage, &c.—The Agoneasean marriages had little or no formality, and consisted in little else than carrying off the bride by stealth, or pretended violence. A plurality of wives was not allowed. Every man had his own wife, whom he took and left at pleasure. Repudiation was incorporated into their laws. A man might put away his wife whenever he became dissatisfied with her, or whenever he saw one whom he liked better; and the woman put away might marry whenever she chose. In these repudiations there were no forms, ceremonies, or delays. The husband might dissolve the matrimonial contract whenever he chose. In these dissolutions the husband, upon signifying his pleasure, turned his wife out of doors. Repudiation was a privilege on the part of the men, not of the women. The women, it is said, were chaste. "An adulterous woman at present among the Agoneaseah, is punished by shaving her head, and banishment from the town."—See Cusick's Sketches of the Six Nations, published in 1827.

The condition of the women among the Agoneaseah, was the same as it is among other savage nations. They imposed on them the care of the children, working in the fields, and every kind of drudgery. In their hunting excursions, and wanderings abroad, the women had to carry the luggage. The degradation of the females was extreme. With the unlettered Agoneaseah marriage was not a tender attachment, or a union of delicate and refined affections; but rather an animal inclination. Without tenderness, without delicacy, and without refinement, the Agoneaseah did not look for pleasure in the beauty, modesty, affection, attachment, and conversation of his wife; but to his brutal inclination, and to the

menial services she was able to render. M. de la Salle tells us that conjugal union among the Indians was founded upon animal inclination, not upon love. The women had to till the ground, gather fruits, and herbs, and do every kind of labor.

Idleness and Drunkenness.—When engaged in hunting and war, the Agoneaseah were active, enterprising, and indefatigable; but when these were ended they were inactive and indolent. With them every thing, save hunting and war, was considered ignoble, and beneath their attention, and fit and becoming only for women and boys. Among them labor was esteemed disgraceful. Hence they never engaged in manual labor, unless driven to it by the most urgent necessity. To see the early Dutch settlers clear the land, and cultivate it, excited them with wonder. They could not imagine how men could degrade themselves so much.

Like all other savage nations, the Agoneaseah were prone to drunkenness. Before they became acquainted with, and had intercourse with our ancestors, they had discovered the method of making an inebriating liquor from corn; but the quantity which they made was so inconsiderable, that general intemperance was altogether unknown among them. The Europeans upon their arrival soon discovered their fondness for ardent liquor, and encouraged them in using it. Liquor was distributed gratuitously to them at all the treaties and public entertainments. The traders not only sold but gave them liquor, whenever they found it promoted their interest. Hence, intemperance soon became general among them. The predominating vices at this day among the Agoneaseah, are indolence and intemperance. In justice, however, we must allow that some of them are industrious, frugal, and temperate. Hitherto the Agoneaseah have been treated by us as aliens and minors. The laws of this state do not allow them to sell their lands, unless to the state. The laws do not consider them an integral part of the state. Little or nothing has been done to ameliorate their condition. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that they have become more and more debased, as we have encroached upon them. Place us in a similar condition. Suppose us to be strangers and minors in our our country, and not to be allowed to sell or buy lands, and see what a change it would induce. Dejection and despair would be

manifest in every countenance. The sources of industry, activity, and enterprise, would be dried up, and our degradation would soon be complete. Man is only active and enterprising where scope is given to his genius and inclination. The Agoneaseah, and other nations of America, would have made advances in civilization, had they been treated as equals and brethren.

The Agoneaseah had very little acquaintance with astronomy. The year they divided into four seasons—Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter. To these they gave appropriate names. Spring they called Cong-que-ta, the putting out of the leaves; Summer, Cun-ha-na, hot weather, the earing of corn; Fall, Cun-na-naugh-ga-na, the ripening of the corn, and the falling of the leaves; and Winter, Coogh-sil-haugh-ga, cold weather. Thirteen moons constituted a year, or period of time in which the seasons returned. The year they called Jugh-sha-lot. They had not noted the equinoxes and solstices. They knew nothing about the eclipses of the sun and moon. These they supposed were occasioned by the Bad Spirit. The sun they called cau-raugh-qua, light of day; and the moon, chow-go-ras-cau-raugh-qua, light of night. Chow-go-ras, in the Agoneasean language, signifies darkness. Heaven was called Cau-roun-ky-aw-ga, that is, the firmament in which the sun, moon, and stars have their courses. The earth they supposed was a plain, surrounded by the ocean. They believed that the sun, moon, and stars rose from the ocean, and set in it twice every twenty-four hours. The earth, according to their ideas, was fixed immovably in the middle of the universe.

The Powhatans divided the year into five seasons. Winter, or cold weather, they called Po-pa-now; Spring, Cat-ta-pe-uck, the leaving of the trees; Summer, Co-hat-ta-yough; the earing of corn, Ne-pin-ough; the harvest, and falling of the leaves, Ta-qui-tock. As to the seasons of the Powhatans, see the travels and voyages of Captain John Smith, the founder of the state of Virginia.

David Cusick, in his Sketches of the Six Nations says, "the people had particular times of the moon to make sugar, plant corn, and hunt deer, and other animals.

The state of society must be far advanced before man can make any considerable progress in astronomy. The Mexicans are almost

the only people in America who had reduced astronomy to a system.

Religion.—With respect to religion the Agoneaseah may be said to have been under the thickest gloom of ignorance. They had no priests; no altars; no temples. They believed in two superior beings, and that the world was under their domination. The one they called the Good Being, and the other the Bad Being. If any good happened to them, they attributed it to the former, and if any evil, to the latter. If prosperous in hunting, fishing, and war, or any other avocation, they assigned it to the first, or if otherwise to the second. The Bad Being they feared and venerated most, because they supposed he might do harm to them. The Good Being they called Lough-en-ne-yugh, that is, the Great Spirit. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of rewards and punishments. They had their Elysium, their Styx, and their Tartarus. They believed that different rewards and punishments awaited men after death; and that these were meted out according to their conduct during life. The region of pure spirits the Agoneaseah called Eskanane. This was their Elysium. The only persons debarred a participation in its ineffable pleasures and delights, were suicides, the disobedient to the councils of the chiefs, and such as put away their wives on account of pregnancy. Near the confines of this delightsome place there is a dark, gloomy, fathomless gulf, over which all the good pass with safety, under the guidance of a faithful conductor; but whenever any of the bad approach this gulf, the conductor refuses them his aid. They then attempt to cross upon a pole, which, before they reach the middle, trembles and shakes, till by and by they fall into the abyss below, where they are shrouded in utter darkness.—See Morse's Geog. Vol. 1. In this horrid gulf resides a great dog infected with the itch, which makes him very restless and spiteful. From him they catch this disease, which renders them very uneasy and miserable, and occasions them to wander to and fro in thick darkness. Sometimes they in their wanderings approach so near the happy fields of Eskanane, shaded with delightful groves, and watered by crystal streams, that they can hear the songs and dances of their former companions. But this only serves to increase their torments, as

they can discern no light, nor discover a passage by which they can gain admittance. This place is like the Tartarus of the ancient Greeks. The Moheakanneews, Hurons, &c. had nearly the same ideas of superintending beings, and states of rewards and punishments after death. All their ideas in relation to these matters were very crude and confused, but such as we might naturally expect in the infancy of society. The notions of the Greeks and Romans were at first equally crude and confused. As they, however, advanced in civilization, arts, literature, and refinement, their notions concerning superior beings, and a future state, became more refined, and were formed into a regular system. The Good Being, and the Evil Being, or the two active principles of the universe, of the Agoneaseah, resembled the Ormusd and Ahriman of the ancient Persians.

The Agoneaseah, on particular occasions offered up sacrifices. They invoked the great spirit by prayers, fastings, ablutions, and sweating or steaming. David Cusick, in his sketches of the Six Nations, remarks, that at this day they have a certain time of worship: that the false faces first commence the dances; that they visit the houses to drive away sickness, &c. Each town or district is allowed to sacrifice a couple of white dogs; the dogs are painted and ornamented with strings of wampum. They throw the dogs in the fire, and some tobacco, and address the Maker. They pretend to furnish him a coat of the skin, and a pipe full of tobacco; after which they have dances for several days."

The Reverend Sampson Occum, a Moheakannew by birth, who lived since our time, says, "the Indians of Long Island imagined that there were a great many gods; but at the same time, they had a notion that there was only one great and good being, who was over all of them." The ideas of the Agoneaseah in respect to their belief of superintending beings, have suffered a change, in consequence of their intercourse with our people; now, they in general believe that there is only one Supreme Being, and that he is the maker of all things, and the fountain of all good. Him they call Lough-en-ne-yugh.

Origin of Man.—The Agoneaseah are unwilling to admit that they, and the other hunting nations of North America, are derived

from the same stock that the whites and other members of the human family are. The Great Spirit, say they, in the beginning created different races of men and women, to whom he alotted the several quarters of the earth. In America, he created one red man, and one red woman. In Europe, one white man and one white woman, and in Africa, one black man and one black woman. The Indians are descended from the red man and red woman, and the whites and blacks from the others. To the Indians, he gave the Island on this side of the great water, and to the whites and blacks, the Islands on the other side of that water. The first man and woman, the Great Spirit named Ea-gwe-ho-e-we, that is a real people. He gave them all the game of the forests, and the fish of the waters for their food. The whites, say they, have intruded upon the patrimony of the Red Men; have taken their lands, and destroyed the game, contrary to the intention of the creator. But there will come a time when the Great Spirit will interpose, and redress all their wrongs, and restore them to the possession of their country, after having removed the whites and all other intruders. Then peace, plenty, and happiness will reign.

Stature, Persons, &c.—The Agoneaseah were of large stature, muscular, robust, straight limbed, and well proportioned, and of a martial appearance. Their complexion was of a reddish brown, resembling the color of a smoked ham. They had round faces, smallish black eyes full of animation, noses rather flat and small, with wide nostrils, large mouths, high cheek bones, small round foreheads, short round chins, and long teeth firmly set. Their hair was coarse, thick, straight, sleek and black. They had no beards, nor had they any hair upon their bodies, or those parts which the rules of decency required them to conceal. The defect of beards and hair originated in custom, which enjoined upom them their extirpation. Before their intercourse with the Dutch and English, they depilated their beards with shells or bits of flints made for that purpose. The tweezer, which is made of small wire rolled round a small piece of wood, in the form of a spiral spring, and which grasps the hairs within its turns, is an invention of the Dutch or English. They possessed very strong constitutions, and could endure incredible hardships and long fastings. Without the cares and

enervations of civilized nations they were not liable, except at an advanced period of life, to the infirmities of old age. They had few diseases. They seldom began to fail before sixty. Strangers to the luxuries and vices of sedentary nations, they retained their vigor, strength, activity, and mental faculties, almost to the last moment of their life. Their moral qualities were in a measure commensurate with their bodily endowments. They were animated, ardent, brave, and quick of perception when called into action. They were patient of fatigue, and cheerful under hardships, privations, and adversity. Zealous lovers of freedom, they would undergo every thing, even death itself for its preservation. To strangers they were hospitable, kind, generous, and faithful. But these noble traits in their character, were tarnished with pride, insolence, contempt, vindiction, cruelty, and inebriety.

Ulloa, a Spanish author of some note, observes, in relation to the complexion and physiognomy of the Americans, "if we have seen one American, we may be said to have seen them all." Dr. Robertson, and some other writers, who never saw any of the Americans, have copied the assertion, and enlarged upon it. Facts, however, disprove the assertion. A very slight acquaintance with the Americans, will convince any one that there are marked differences, not only in complexion, but in physiognomy. Every nation and tribe can distinguish its own members, as readily as the nations of Europe. Surely these writers, when they made the assertion, might as well have said that every goat is alike, and that he who has seen one has seen all, since it would have been as applicable and as true, and would have conveyed as correct an idea to the reader.

The Iroquoise (Agoneaseah,) M. de la Salle informs us in his travels, "are the most warlike and cruel of all the American nations. They are indefatigable and undaunted. They never ask, and seldom give quarters. They drink the blood of their enemies." M. de la Salle travelled among them, and other American nations in 1678. The Agoneaseah were then in the zenith of their power. European intercourse had not then debased them to any considerable extent.

There were very few, or no deformed persons among the Ago-

neaseah. Weakly persons, or persons having weak constitutions, were equally uncommon among them. The women were large, strong, muscular, and active, and capable of undergoing great hardships, fatigues, and abstinence. They were easily delivered, and endured very little pain; they attended to their common avocations immediately after delivery. The children, like their parents, were healthy, hardy, lively, active, and playful. Throughout each tribe there was a family likeness, and throughout the nation, a national likeness. When they walked, they carried the toes either straight forward, or turned them a little inward.

Such were the Agoneaseah before they became debased by the influence of civilization, and sedentary habits. Even at this day, debased as they are, we can see many of the foregoing characterestics in their persons, features, and manners. But civilization and its concomitants, are extinguishing them. In a short time, no trace, beyond color, will be left, unless they retire to the western wilds. It will be with them, as it is with the miserable remains of the tribes that once possessed New England, dejected, despised, forlorn, degraded, and sunk amidst vices.

The Agoneaseah interred the bodies of their dead in sitting postures. Arms, such as bows, arrows, tomahawks, &c. were put into the grave with the body. Sometimes they raised heaps of stones over the bodies of distinguished chiefs. We remember to have seen one of these in the northern part of the town of Schoharie, by the side of the Agoneasean path, leading from Schoharie to Icanderago. It is now removed. Graves are now and then opened in the districts which were inhabited by the Agoneaseah. In the towns of Minden and Oppenheim, in the county of Montgomery, several have been opened within the last twenty years. They were on or near the river hills, in loamy lands. In those graves, bones, tomahawks, arrow heads, pipes, guns, brass kettles, and some other articles were met with. Those containing stone axes, arrow and spear heads, contain the remains of persons entered before European intercourse. The disposition of the head, vertebræ, ribs, thigh, leg, and feet bones, prove conclusively that they were inhumed in sitting positions. The bones, in such graves as have been opened in the country of the Chit-o-won-e-augh-gaw or Senecas, have similar positions.

CHAPTER VIII.

Population, origin of the hunting nations, &c.

Population.—In every society population depends upon various causes and circumstances, which are modified according to the degree of civilization which exists. In civilized countries which have been inhabited for a great length of time, and which have a generous soil, fine climate, and good government, the population is dense. In savage countries, on the contrary, where there are only wide spread forests, it is thin. The latter was the condition of the country which the Agoneaseah possessed. Covered with woods, it denied them those aliments that are indispensably necessary for a dense population, which it now yields to a people who have cut down its forests, and cultivated its soil. The same extent of country which then yielded subsistence to only twenty or twenty-five thousand souls, now yields it to nearly a million of persons; and will, at no greatly distant day, to five or six millions. The one subsisted by hunting and fishing, and the spontaneous productions of the earth; the other, by industry. It is then agriculture and the arts that lead to a numerous population. Agriculture affords subsistence, and most of the wants and comforts of life. This subsistence is certain and uniform. It does not, like hunting and fishing, depend on adventitious circumstances. It does not depend on cunning, stratagem, and force. It depends entirely on industry, perseverance, steadiness, sobriety, and virtue. The husbandman lives securely, comfortably and affluently; all his necessary wants, all his necessary desires, are satisfied and gratified. The savage, on the contrary, lives insecurely, wretchedly, and poorly.

The forests did not contain the twentieth part of the game that the fields now do of domestic animals. The deer, the elk, and the moose, from which the Agoneaseah derived their principal subsistence, were in small flocks. It required as much land to subsist ten deer as it does to support two or three hundred sheep, and so of other animals. No wonder then, taking all the circumstances into

consideration, the country was thinly peopled, and that the Agoneasean cantons contained only a few thousand souls. The means of subsistence were wanting, and they did not possess industry and art to acquire it from the earth. The same remarks are applicable to all the American nations of Tartar origin. They all subsisted, and still, if we except some individuals, subsist themselves by hunting and fishing. Husbandry was not known among them, nor is it at present.

Remarks in relation to the numbers of the Agoneaseah and Moheakanneews, about the time of the colonization.

In regard to former times the numbers are frequently exaggerated, and lose all credit. The early writers of New England very gravely tells us that the country was filled with people. The Dutch writers inform us that the Mohiccons, Mohickanders, Unami, Munsi, and Chihohocki, were considerable nations. These tribes composed the confederacy of the Lenni Lenape, and might in the aggregate have amounted to twenty-five thousand souls. The writers of both nations aver, that the Agoneaseah could bring upwards of ten thousand fighting men into the field. But mark, the same writers inform us, that New England, New-York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, were covered with woods, and that the natives subsisted mostly on game and fish. In this particular they have unquestionably informed us correctly. But we would ask, what has become of that numerous population? How did it subsist? Why did it not overwhelm the early colonists of England and Holland? Did the aborigines want courage? No. Why have they left such feeble traces? A solution may be given to all these questions: The fears of the early settlers magnified the numbers of the natives. Hence the origin of these exaggerated accounts. The Roman and Greek authors represent the Germans, Sarmatians, and Britons, to have been great nations. They tell us that the Goths, to the number of one million, broke up their settlements in the Ukraine, and retreated before the Huns; that the Alamani burst into Italy with one hundred and twenty thousand men; that the Britons in a single battle lost eighty thousand men, and that the Huns made an irruption into Gaul with five hundred thousand men. The reader

will note that the numbers are all round and full. But will he readily believe such loose accounts? No. The Germans, Sarmatians, and Britons, were either shepherds or hunters. A people in the former state may, under favorable circumstances, bring forty or fifty thousand men into the field for a short time, but the latter cannot. The fears of the Romans and Greeks, like the fears of the English and Dutch, magnified the numbers of the barbarians and savages of ancient Germany, Sarmatia, and Britain. These countries, at the present day, contain at least fifty times the amount of population they did in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. Then the inhabitants lived on game, fish, and the produce of some badly fed domestic animals. Husbandry was not much farther advanced among those nations, if we except those living on the borders of the Roman empire, than it was among the Moheakanneews and the Agoneaseah two hundred years ago. No nation ever became populous without agriculture and the arts. No country ever abounded so much with game, and spontaneous products, as to subsist a great nation. Those writers, therefore, who have represented barbarous and savage nations to have been numerous ought not to be credited without making great deductions. America, if we except Mexico and Peru, was very thinly peopled, and still is, where civilized man has not taken up his abode.

On comparing the manners, customs, and laws of the Agoneaseah, and those of the other hunting tribes of North America, with those of the Tartars, and even their arts, we have found them almost exactly alike in all essentials. In physiognomy and complexion the analogies are striking and marked. Every thing appears to be Tartarian.

The Agoneaseah were a branch of the Huron nation. They spoke the same language, had the same physiognomy, complexion, manners, customs and laws. When or where they separated or the causes which led to the separation, are unknown. The tribes called the Hurons occupied Michigan and the country between lakes Erie, Ontario, and Huron, and thence northeastwardly as far as the Utawas, and perhaps some farther. The Hurons were the original root. The Erigas, Wyandotts, Dinondadies and Utawas were portions of the same nation. Huron was a general appellation for

many tribes or cantons and clans that spoke the same language or dialects, differing very little from the mother tongue. According to La Hontan and Charlevoix, the dialects did not differ so widely but that a person well versed in the Huron could understand all of them, and converse with the different tribes. La Hontan, who was well acquainted with several of the Indian languages, informs us that there were but two mother tongues, the Huron and the Algonquin, (Adirondack,) in the whole extent of Canada, as far as the Mississippi; and in a list which he gives of the Indian nations, it appears that they all spoke the Algonquin in different dialects, except the Hurons and the Agoneaseah; the difference between whose languages he considered to be not greater than that between the French and Norman French. Charlevoix expresses himself in the same manner, in respect to the Huron and Algonquin languages. La Hontan and Charlevoix travelled throughout Canada, and resided in it many years. The French called the whole country Canada as far as the Mississippi.

De Witt Clinton, the late governor of this state, in a discourse delivered before the New-York Historical Society, advances the same opinion. See Vol. 2, of the collections of the Society. Rogers, Barton, and Mc Kinsie, are of the same opinion. Dr. Edwards asserts that the language of the Lenni Lenape, Nanticokes, Shawnese, Mohegans, Penobscotts, and St. Francis Indians, was alike. The two latter tribes resided in Nova Scotia, and Lower Canada. The remains of these tribes still live in those provinces. Dr. Edwards, during the time his father was a missionary among the Mohegans, acquired a perfect knowledge of their language, which differed in no essential respects from that spoken by all the tribes from the Labrador coast, to the borders of North Carolina. The Mohegans dwelt on the banks of Connecticut river. In our tabular view, we have treated them as a clan of the Lenni Lenape. We shall quote a passage in relation to this subject, from a sketch of the first settlement of Long Island, by the Hon. Silas Wood, published at Brooklyn in 1828. "It is supposed that there were only two original Indian languages in the United States, north of the Roanoke. The Delaware (Lenni Lenape,) and the Iroquoise (Agoneasean.) The languages of the different tribes of New

England, and most of the Indian tribes from the Mississippi to Nova Scotia, are only different dialects of the Delaware," p. 68. The Reverend Sampson Occum, who was a Mohegan, on being asked whether the several tribes that inhabited New England, could understand one another or not, answered in the affirmative, and that the Lenni Lenape had the same language. The difference he remarked was provincial, and consisted rather in the pronunciation of certain words, than any thing else. "The Reverend Sampson Occum was born in 1723, was educated by Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon, and Mr. Pemeroy of Hebron. In the spring of 1758, he was licensed to preach by the association of Windham county Connecticut, and on the 20th of August, 1759, he was ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of Suffolk county, with a view to send him as a missionary among the Southern Indians. He preached to the Montauks, Mohegans, and others. In 1786, he removed with the Indians under his care, consisting of the Mohegans, and the remnants of some other tribes to Oneida, where he died in 1792, aged 69. See the Hon. Silas Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pages 71, 72.

The Hurons, Mo-hea-kan-neews, Knis-te-neaux, Nau-do-wessies, Che-pa-wy-ans, &c.* are of Tartar origin. They have a strik-

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* The Esquimeaux are excepted, and the people of Nootka Sound. The former, generally speaking, possess those parts of North America, north of latitude sixty-five. In some instances, bands have progressed southwardly as far as latitude fifty. Beyond latitude sixty-five, however, may be regarded as the Esquimeaux country. Their progress has been eastwardly. West and East Greenland are possessed by the same people. All the Esquimeaux tribes resemble one another in stature, features, and complexion, and speak the same language. The Esquimeaux are a distinct people from the Moheakanneews, Knisteneaux, Hurons, Naudowessies, Chepawyans, and others who derived their origin from Tartary. In some respects, they have a likeness to the Laplanders, Finns, Votiacks, and Ostiacks. They are, however, of shorter stature and much ruder in their manners. The Greenlanders, we are assured by Crantz a missionary among them, are real Esquimeaux. "The Esquimeaux call themselves *Keralit*, that is men.|" See Ellis' voyage to Hudson's bay.

The latter, or the people of Nootka and the Northern Archipelago, situated between the western coast of the continent of North America, and the eastern coast of Kampt-schat-ca, differ not only from the nations of Tartar origin under discussion, but also from the Esquimeaux. The Nootkans have grey eyes. Nootka is in latitude fifty north. The same people dwell along the American coast to the peninsula of Alasca. The Northern Archipelago, according to

ing resemblance to the Tongusi, and some of the other Tartar nations in their physiognomy, and complexion, and even in their mode of living, manners, customs, and laws. Like them they have little eyes, small noses, high cheek bones, round chins and foreheads, and broad faces. Like them they have a roving disposition, and are fond of hunting, fishing, and war. They have the same method of destroying, devastating, and burning. Like the ancient Scythians, the progenitors of the modern Tartars, they scalp their dead. Like the Ta-shuts-ki, Kam-skat-ki, Tongusi, and some other Tartar nations, they paint their faces and bodies, depilate their beards, march in single file, make bark canoes, bury their dead in sitting postures, and in some instances raise heaps of stones over them. Like them they avoid labor as the greatest slavery, they have no cities, they dress in deer skins, or other skins, and reside in huts. Like those of the Tartars, their huts have no hearths, backs, jambs, or chimnies. Like them they are guided in their travels in cloudy weather by the configuration of the trees, and by the moss which grows on them. Like them, they use bows, arrows, spears, and clubs, lure game into traps, snares, and gins. Like them, they are divided into tribes, and subsist on the produce of the chase.

The Tartar nations inhabiting Siberia, are in general, as rude and uncultivated as the Indigines of North America. In vain have some authors of great celebrity endeavored to draw a line of distinction between the Asiatic, and American hunter. In vain have they endeavored to prove that the former is superior to the latter, in physical and mental endowments, in civilization, the arts and sciences. In vain have they endeavored to prove, that man in America appears in his most degraded state. A hunter in America, and a hunter in Asia, have the same, or very nearly the same character. They have the same pursuits, the same occupations, the same mode of living, the same manners, the same customs, the same laws, the same physical and mental endowments, and the same habiliments. The ancestors then of the Moheakaneews,

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some writers, is composed of four groups of islands lying between the two continents. About fifty of these islands have been visited by navigators. The natives pass from island to island in canoes. For further particulars, see the voyages of Captains Cook and King, and Guthrie's and Morse's Geography.

Hurons, Knisteneaux, Naudowessies, Chepawyans, &c. according to our views, crossed over Behring Straits, which separate the two continents in the north. These straits are in north latitude sixty-five degrees and forty-six minutes, and in west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich in England, between one hundred and sixty-eight degrees and fifteen minutes, and one hundred and seventy degrees and thirty-eight minutes. Their width is thirty-nine miles. The American continent is on the one side, and the Asiatic on the other. In the summer, these straits are open, and in winter, they are covered with thick, strong, and solid ice. The natives of the respective coasts are continually passing and repassing during the summer in their canoes. The continents south and north of these straits retire from each other. The Pacific ocean lies between them on them on the south, and the Arctic sea on the north. We shall in this place, cite some passages from the voyages of Captains Cook and King. "The western extremity of America, or Prince of Wales's Cape, is in latitude sixty-five degrees and forty-six minutes, and in longitude one hundred and sixty-eight degrees and fifteen minutes west from Greenwich, and in longitude one hundred and seventy degrees and thirty-eight minutes. Nearly in the middle of the narrow strait, which separates these capes, are the two islands of St. Diomede, from which both continents may be seen." Cook's voyages, Vol. 3, p. 24. "Beyond this point the strait opens towards the Arctic sea, and the coasts of America and Asia diverge so fast from one another, that in the parallel of sixty-nine degrees, they are more than three hundred leagues asunder." ibid. p. 277. "The continents of America and Asia in the parallel of fifty-five degrees, or that of the southern extremity of Alashka, are about four hundred leagues asunder. They approach continually to one another, as they stretch together towards the north, until they are terminated in two capes, only thirteen leagues distant." Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 244. "The American and Asiatic continents at the straits, are usually joined together by ice during winter. At this place, the natives of Asia could find no difficulty in passing over to the opposite coast, which is in sight of their own. The continents during winter, with respect to the communication between them, may be considered as one land." Same voyages.

Cox, in his Russian discoveries, mentions that several Kamschadale vessels in 1745, were driven out to sea, and forced by stress of weather, to take shelter among some of the Aleutian islands, a distance of several hundred miles. Captain Cook, in one of his voyages, found some of the natives of one of these islands out at sea in their war canoes, six hundred miles from home. The distance therefore, independent of Behring straits, could have been no insurmountable object. The American tribes dwelling on the east side of the straits, speak the same language that the Tashutski, Tchutski, or Tshukutskoi do. The people of the two continents residing along the straits, are then the same. They speak the same language, have the same complexion, the same laws, manners and customs. The transit from Asia to America, and vice versa, is, and always has been practicable at these approximating points.

The hunting nations of North America, especially those living northwardly of the Mexicos, derived their origin from the north-eastern parts of Asia. Bands of Tartars crossed these straits successively, or in succession, and journied to the east, south-east, and south. The tide of emigration naturally took these directions. The way being opened, the one band or nation followed the footsteps of that which had preceded it. As the one band abandoned a region, that which came after it took possession. The one pushed the other forward, just as the Huns pushed the Alani and others forward, on the eve of the destruction of the Roman empire. All these bands strove to better their condition. The regions around Behrings straits, and for a great distance on all sides, are cold, bleak, and barren, and afford very scanty means of subsistence; it was therefore natural for these people to seek milder, more genial, and better countries. In the course of time these bands multiplied. Separations ensued. These separations were not always dictated by increase; sometimes they originated in broils, and at others from the erratic disposition peculiar to the people.

Among the nations under consideration, the Moheakanneews seem to be the oldest, or those that migrated first. The Knistenaux, unless they be the same people, came afterwards. The former had reached the Atlantic ocean, on the south-east, long before

the visiting of America by Columbus. They inhabited all the country along the coast, from the confines of North Carolina to the shores of Labrador. The Hurons, Naudowessies, and Chepawyans came since, but none of them had ever arrived at the Atlantic ocean, unless it might have been in war parties or on embassies. The Moheakanneews, the Knistenaux, the Naudowessies, and Chepawyans, followed each other in succession. The countries which they occupied, and still occupy, in certain respects, demonstrate this assumption. The arrival of the Moheakanneews, which preceded that of the others, must have been subsequent to the migration of the people who constructed the fortifications and mounds west of the Alleghany mountains, and between Black river and the Arkansaw, because they had no tradition of the country having ever been inhabited before they came to it. They had traditions of the encroachments and conquests of the Huron tribes; and they unquestionably would have had traditions of the settlement of the country, had they found it settled when they reached it. Again, had the country been settled they could not have obtained possession of it, without long and bloody wars. These would have left some traces. Memorable events are passed from generation to generation by tradition. The Zapotecas, a nation of hunters now resident in New Mexico, have a tradition to this day of the march and encampments of the Aztecks, or Mexicans, through their country, and this after a lapse of more than six hundrad years.

The tide of emigration then was at first east, southeast, and south. Latterly it has been west. Ever since the colonization of the United States it has taken the latter direction. The Lenni Lenape, the Shawnese, the Agoneaseah and others have retired westwardly. The former have gone to the west as far as the Wabash and Mississippi rivers and some of them have even crossed the latter stream and taken stations beyond it. These retrograde movements have been occasioned by the influx, multiplication, and encroachments of the European emigrants.

As science and discoveries advance, it will be found that analogies exist between the nations who inhabit the country between Behrings straits and that of the Chepawyans. Cook, McKenzie, and some others, have already thrown much light on the subject.

In after times others will contribute. A knowledge of the languages is nearly all that is now wanting. The complexion, physiognomy, mode of life, manners, and customs, are in some measure known. A correspondence, or relation between the languages, would connect the whole. All the nations between the Atlantic ocean and the country of the Chepawyans, are known; and in every thing but language there has been found an agreement. The country of the Chepawyans, that is the seat of the nation, because bands of this people have advanced long ago to the shores of lakes Superior, Huron, Michigan, Erie, and Ontario, where they have either remained distinct or commingled with other tribes, is between sixty and sixty-five degrees of north latitude, and between one hundred and one hundred and ten degrees of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, in England. The distance from their country to Behrings straits, is not over seventeen hundred miles in a direct line. This, then, is the part of the American continent that remains to be more fully explored. Whenever this is done, we feel assured that identities will be found to exist between its inhabitants and the Chepawyans, as there have been found between the latter and those of the coast and the interior. This then would put to rest the question so long agitated, and about which so much has been said, and generally to no purpose, whence did the hunting nations north of the Mexicos derive their origin.

NOTE 1. We have remarked that the tide of emigration, since the colonization of the United States, had been west. This, in the main, is true. Along the coast of the Atlantic ocean, and thence inland, as far as settlements have been made, it is strictly true; but far in the interior, and beyond our settlements, it is still setting eastwardly and south-eastwardly. About a century after the conquest and dispersion of the Hurons by the Agoneaseah, the Massasagues. Messasagues, or Missasagas, whose seat is on the north side of lakes Superior and Huron, sent out several bands who took possession of the peninsular part of the province of Upper Canada. The British government had to purchase the lands along Grand or Ouse river, on which the Mohawks now live, from them. It is said that all of the bands of the Massasagues could formerly bring two thousand men into the field. The emigration of bands of this people shows the progress of the hunting tribes south-eastwardly. Other cases might be cited, but they would only fatigue the patience of the reader were we to cite them; besides, no farther proof

is necessary to show the courses of the hunting tribes in their emigrations. The Agoneaseah formerly called the Massasagues Twakanhahors; now they call them Mississaugers.

NOTE 2. We have made the following extracts from Tacitus, a Roman author of great notoriety, in order to show that in many respects there are analogies between some of the manners and customs of the Agoneaseah and other erratic nations of this continent, and those of the ancient Germans.

The Germans abounded in rude strains of verse. They inflamed the minds of the warriors with ardor in the day of battle. Their manner of chaunting their savage preludes did not resemble the tones of the human organs. The vociferation was harsh and uncouth. There was a family likeness throughout the nation; the same form, the same feature. The chiefs of the Germans were chosen for their valor. They commanded rather by persuasion than authority. In matters of inferior moment the chiefs decided; important questions were reserved for the whole community. When they assembled each man took his seat. Silence was proclaimed. The chief of the community opened the debate; the rest were heard in their turn, according to age, renown in war, or fame for eloquence. No man dictated to the assembly; he might persuade, but could not command.

War and depredation were characteristic of the Germans. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, was not the maxim of the Germans. When the state had no war to manage, the German mind was sunk in sloth. The chase did not afford sufficient employment. The intrepid warrior became in peace a listless sluggard. The management of his house and lands he left to the women, to the old men, and the infirm part of his family. He himself lounged about in stupid repose. The Germans had no regular cities; nor did they allow a continuity of houses. They dwelt in habitations dispersed up and down, as a fountain, a grove, a meadow, or stream, happened to invite. They had villages, but every house stood detached, with a vacant piece of ground around it. They built with rude materials, regardless of order, proportion, and beauty. Their clothing was a loose mantle made fast with a clasp, or when that could not be had, with a thorn. Naked in other respects, they loitered away whole days by the fire side. The skins of wild animals were mostly in use, even in those provinces adjoining the Roman empire. The people who lived on the German and Baltic seas were entirely clothed with skins. These they decorated. In point of dress there was no distinction between the sexes. The children were reared up in filth. They ran about naked. No distinction was made between the son of a chief and that of a slave. To adopt the quarrels, as well as the friendships of their parents and relations, was held to be an indispensable duty. Hospitality, and convivial pleasures.

were no where more liberally enjoyed. To have refused admittance to a guest was deemed an outrage against humanity. The master of the house welcomed every stranger, and regaled him to the best of his ability. Between an intimate, and an entire stranger, no distinction was made. Their burials had neither pomp nor vain ambition. A mound of earth was raised over the ashes of the deceased. Tears and lamentations were soon at an end; but their regret did not so easily wear away.

CHAPTER IX.

The following is taken from the Hon. Silas Wood's Sketch of the first settlement of Long Island.

Of the several Tribes of Indians on Long Island, &c.

"When the first settlements were made on the island by the Dutch and English, it appears, from the original Indian deeds, that the principal tribes that occupied it were as follows:

The Canarse, the Rockaway, the Merikoke, the Marsapeague, the Secatague, and the Patchague, on the south side; the Matinecoc, the Nissaquague, the Satauket, and the Corchaug, on the north side; the Shinecoc, the Manhanset, and the Montauk, from the Canoe Place to Montauk Point.

The Canarse appears to have been the only tribe, or the only tribe of any consequence, in Kings county. This tribe claimed the chief part of the lands in Kings county, and a part of the lands in Jamaica.

The Rockaway tribe claimed the territory around Rockaway, and more or less of the lands in Newtown and Jamaica.

The Merikoke and Marsapeague tribes extended from Rockaway through Queens county, into Suffolk, on the south side of the island.

The territory of the Matinecoc tribe extended from Flushing through Queens county, to Fresh Pond, in Suffolk, on the north side.

The Nissaquague tribe extended from Fresh Pond to Stonybrook.

The Satauket tribe claimed from Stonybrook to the Wading river.

The Corchaug tribe extended from the Wading river, through South Old, on the north side.

The territory of the Manhanset tribe was Shelter Island.

The territory of the Secataug tribe adjoined that of the Marsapeagues, and extended to Patchogue.

The territory of the Patchogue tribe extended to South Hampton.

The Shinecoc tribe extended from the Canoe Place to Montauk, and that peninsula was the seat of the Montauk tribe.

There are one or two other tribes named in the old records, but the place they occupied cannot be ascertained, and it is evident from that circumstance that they must have been very small, perhaps the mere remnants of tribes which had been destroyed in their wars.

Those above enumerated are the principal tribes that occupied the island when the English and Dutch commenced their settlements there, and the original purchases of the several towns were made of these tribes.

The Indian settlements were all on the bays, creeks, and harbors on the north and south sides of the island, and their territories were divided from each other by the middle of the island.

At the time of the first settlement of the island, the whole Indian population was considerable, but by no means as great as the facilities of subsistence would have authorized us to expect, nor as great as it probably had formerly been.

The shell banks which indicate the sites of their villages, on the western half of the island, are large and numerous, and beds of shells of some size or other are found at intervals of a few miles all around the margin of the island. From these it would seem that the population of some parts of the island was once very numerous, or must have been stationary there a long time.

The shell banks in the western towns of Suffolk county are much larger and more numerous than in the eastern towns, where shell fish are as abundant; which proves that the western part of the island had been the longest settled, and that the Indian emigration proceeded from west to east.

The state of the Indian population must be ascribed to their perpetual wars, by which they had been diminished.

All savage nations are addicted to war. The causes of war among hem are numerous, and the mode of carrying it on destructive to their numbers.

It appears that Long Island had been overrun by hostile tribes, and many of the natives must have been destroyed by them.

Of the political state of the Indians.

The confederacy of the five nations extended their conquests as far south as Manhattan Island, and had passed over to the west end of Long Island, and subdued the Canarse Indians.

There is a tradition among the Dutch that, at the time of the first settlement of the island, the Canarse tribe paid the Mohawks an annual tribute of wampum and dried clams, and that they discontinued the payment of it on the persuasion of the whites, in consequence of which a party of the conquerors came and destroyed the whole tribe, except a few who happened to be from home.

Some writers have supposed that the conquest of the Mohawks extended to the whole island, but there is no tradition to support it, and it is believed that the conquest never extended beyond the territories of the Canarse Indians.

This may have been owing to the fact, that all the other Indians were in subjection to the Pequots. It is well known that this tribe never was subdued by the five nations, and it would have been a violation of their rules of warfare to have turned their arms against a tributary people, when they had not subdued the power that held them in subjection.

The Montauks had probably been the most warlike tribe on Long Island, had overrun the other tribes on the island east of the Canarse territory, and had reduced them to some kind of subjection.

At the time of the first settlement of the island, the Montauk sachem claimed and exercised some kind of sovereignty over the whole territory, and it is stated that he justified his claim before the governor and council, in virtue of a former conquest of the country. In 1659 he conveyed the territory which constitutes the town of Smithtown, then occupied by the Nissaquague Indians, to Lyon Gardiner.

It is evident from the early writers of New England, that the Pequots, who occupied the country around New London, and was the most warlike tribe in Connecticut, had subdued the Montauks with their tributaries, and that at the time of the first settlement of New-England, the Long-Island Indians were in subjection to the

Pequots, and paid them a tribute. The victory over the Montauks involved the subjection of all the tribes that were under them, and the conquest of the Pequots must have embraced all the tribes on the island east of the Canarse territory.

In 1637, the New-England colonies made war on the Pequots, to avenge the murders and other hostile aggressions which they had committed on the whites, and subdued and dispersed the whole tribe. The Long Island Indians who had been subject to the Pequots, immediately repaired to the English to make their peace with them. Winthrop, in his journal, states, that on the reduction of the Pequots in 1637, " sachems from Long Island came voluntarily and brought a tribute to us of twenty fathom of wampum each of them."

From this time they seem to have considered themselves to be in subjection to the English, and to have paid them tribute, perhaps the same they had paid the Pequots. In 1644 they applied to the commissioners for some evidence of their relation to them, and the commissioners gave them a certificate in writing, in effect promising them security from injury by the English, and all others in friendship with them; at which time they assured the commissioners, "that they had been tributary to the English ever since the Pequot war, and that they had never injured the English or Dutch, but had been friendly to both," which implied that they had been subject to the Pequots, and followed their fate.

In 1650 the commissioners sent Captain Mason to Long Island to require payment of the tribute due from the Indians there, and to settle a way in which it might be punctually discharged in future.

In 1656 the Montauk chief visited the commissioners at Boston, and in answer to an inquiry whether he had paid the tribute due from him, stated, that he had paid it at Hartford for the space of ten years, and that it was in arrear for the four last years, which they remitted in consideration of his distressed condition by the late war in which he had been engaged with the Narragansetts.

In 1653 Ninnigrate, the chief of the Nehantic Indians, who were either a tribe of the Narragansetts, or closely connected with them, made war on the Long Island Indians, which lasted several years, and reduced them to great extremity. He invaded the territory of

the Montauks, and would have extirpated the whole tribe, if they had not found protection in the humanity of the people of East Hampton.

They were obliged to abandon their villages, and to flee for refuge to East Hampton, where they were kindly received, sustained, and protected. They continued to reside in that town for several years, before they deemed it safe to return to Montauk.

In 1655, Mr. Thomas James, the minister of East Hampton, and others, wrote to the commissioners and informed them that the Indians on the Island must submit themselves and their country to the Narragansetts, unless they should speedily have some assistance.

The commissioners sent military supplies to the towns of East Hampton and South Hampton, and to the Indians. They stationed an armed vessel in the sound under the command of Captain John Youngs, with orders to stave Ninnigrate's canoes, and to destroy his forces if he attempted to pass over to the island.

The commissioners also gave orders, that in case the enemy should pursue the Indians within two miles of any of the settlements, the inhabitants should immediately repair to their assistance. During the same season, they sent a small force against Ninnigrate, which was rendered ineffectual by the mismanagement of the officer who was entrusted with the command.

In 1656, Massachusetts declined further aid in suppressing the war of Ninnigrate against the Montauks, and the whole burden of their defence devolved on the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. They generously continued Captain Youngs with his vessel on the same station that year, at their sole expense, and the war seems not to have ceased until the end of the year 1656, or perhaps some time in 1657.

In one of their enterprizes the Narragansetts, among others, took the daughter of Wyandance, the chief sachem, prisoner, who was ransomed by the aid of Lyon Gardiner, the first proprietor of Gardiner's Island, in gratitude for which the chief, in 1659, presented him with a deed for the territory which now forms the town of Smithtown.

These various and successive general wars, with such as may

have taken place between separate tribes, must have contributed greatly to reduce their numbers, and to render the whole island much less populous than it would otherwise have been at the time of the first settlement of the country.

Of all the tribes that were found on Long Island, there remain only a few families of Montauks and Shinecocs, with a few scattering ones, at different places on the south side of the Island.

Of the state of Society among the Indians.

The Indians on Long Island raised corn and vegetables, and these, with the deer, wild fowl, and various kinds of shell fish and other fish that abounded on the Island, must have afforded them easy and ample means of subsistence; yet notwithstanding these advantages, they still continued in the hunter state, and had made no advances in the arts, which are usually first cultivated in the infancy of society. They were not distinguished by their dwellings, their clothing, their domestic utensils, or weapons of war, from the natives of the interior.

Except their canoes, of which those that belonged to the chiefs, were very large, and their arrow heads, which were curiously wrought out of the hardest stone, the only materials of art among them, seem to have been some rude vessels of earth hardened in the fire, and these are sometimes found in their shell banks.

At the first settlement of the Island, the Montauks were considerably numerous; their numbers were diminished by their war with Ninnigrate, in 1655, and by emigration from time to time to the Indian settlements on the main shore. In 1761 they amounted to thirty-eight families, and to 192 souls; subsequent to that time, the tribe was still further reduced by the emigration of a number with Sampson Occum and other Indians to Brothertown in 1786. They do not at present exceed half a dozen familes, nor amount to more than thirty souls.

The Indians on Long Island seem to have abounded in wampum, the Indian substitute for money. It was made out of the shells of different species of shell fish, of the size of beads, and perforated like them. The beads were black or blue, and white, and the

black were double the value of the white; and this fact clearly shews that some standard of value is essential to social intercourse in the rudest state of society.

The Dutch and English both, either from necessity or convenience, resorted to the use of this Indian money, and the value of it was fixed either by law or custom. In the early stages of the settlements, three black beads or six white ones passed for a penny.

Belts made of wampum were exchanged at the treaties between different tribes, as symbols to perpetuate the memory of the transaction.

The same causes that diminished the numbers and prevented the increase of the Indians, contributed to retard their progress in improvement and civilization.

The religious notions of the Long Island Indians, are preserved in a communication of Sampson Occum, an Indian minister, which is published among the collections of the historical society of Massachusetts.

They had a plurality of gods, but believed in one great and good being, who had the control over all the rest. They believed in an evil spirit, and had their conjurers or pawaws. They believed in a future state of existence, and that there would be a distinction according to their behavior here.

They made sacrifices to their gods, and performed such other acts of worship, as are common among the Indians in general.

Their conjurers were said to have intercourse with the evil spirit, and by the Duke's laws of 1665, it was enacted "that no Indian should be suffered to pawaw or perform worship to the devil in any town within the government.

The language of the Montauk Indians is supposed to have been the common language of all the Long Island Indians, and differed but little from that of the Narraganset, the Massachusetts, and other New England tribes.

Of the measures adopted to preserve peace with the Indians.

The Indians on Long Island, seem to have been less troublesome to the whites, than those north of the sound.

It does not appear that they ever formed any general combination against the first settlers, or materialy interrupted the progress of their improvements. The records of that period, furnish no account of any general war against the Long Island Indians, by the Dutch or English.

There is no reason to believe that this exemption from Indian hostilities was owing to a better disposition, or milder character of the natives of the Island. Individuals and small parties were sometimes troublesome to the settlers.

In 1649, a murder was perpetrated at South Hampton, and the town was greatly alarmed at the hostile appearance of the Indians for several days, and several murders were committed in the Dutch towns, in 1652.

The towns were frequently jealous of them.

In 1645, the town of South Hampton ordered one half of their military company to bring their ams to meeting with them every Lord's day alternately for some time.

In 1651, the town of East Hampton ordered the inhabitants to bring their arms with them on the Lord's day, under the penalty of 12d. for every neglect, and other towns are said to have done the like.

The Indians sometimes committed depredations on the property of the whites.

In 1657, they did considerable damage to the people of South Hampton, and in 1681 four Indians plundered a store in Huntington, and threatened the lives of the family. The first settlers in every part of the Island, were in the practice of guarding their cattle which run at large, and it might have been to prevent the depredations of the Indians, as well as to guard them against injuries from wild beasts and other accidents.

In 1657, the Montauks committed depredations, and burnt a number of houses at South Hampton, and the people were obliged to betake themselves to their arms, and stand on their own defence. Capt. Mason crossed the sound to quell the disturbance, and imposed a fine of 700*l.* on the Indians, as a remuneration for the damages, and as a punishment for the aggression.

The chief sent a messenger to the Commissioners, and alleged

that the damage was occasioned by a mischievous Indian, who had since destroyed himself and a negro woman, and prayed that he might be relieved from the fine, which was referred to the general court of Connecticut.

In Johnson's "Wonder Working Providence," it is stated that when the English first commenced their settlements on Long Island, "the Indians did much annoy their cattle with the multitude of dogs they kept, which ordinarily were young wolves brought up tame, continuing of a very ravening nature."

The security of the whites must be ascribed to the means they employed, to preserve peace with the Indians.

The English and the Dutch both endeavored to secure uninterrupted peace with the Indians, by treaty.

The reception of the Indians on the east end of the Island, under the protection of the Commissioners of the united colonies, in 1644, and their subsequent appointment of the Montauk chief, grand sachem of the Long Island Indians, must have augmented the influence which he before possessed over more or less of the Indian tribes on the Island, and must have enabled and disposed him to curb any disposition manifested by them to annoy, or interrupt the whites.

In 1643, the year before the Dutch war with the Indians north of the sound, the Dutch Governor made a treaty with Pennowits, sachem, as is supposed of the Matinecock Indians.

In 1656, the Dutch Governor made a treaty with Tackapausha, the sachem of the Marsapeague Indians, and the representative of five other tribes.

Thus the Dutch on the west end, and the English on the east end of the Island, maintained a constant friendship with the natives in their respective neighborhoods, and while they were friendly with each other, the Indians from one end of the Island to the other were friendly with both.

Both the English and the Dutch on Long Island, respected the rights of the Indians, and no land was taken up by the several towns, or by individuals, until it had been fairly purchased of the chiefs, of the tribe who claimed it.

The consideration given for the land was inconsiderable in value,

and usually consisted of different articles of clothing, implements of hunting and fishing, domestic utensils, and personal ornaments; but appears to have been such in all cases, as was deemed satisfactory by the Indians.

The first purchase of Huntington in 1653, comprised nearly six miles square; the consideration paid to the Indians consisted of six coats, six bottles, six hatchets, six shovels, ten knives, six fathom wampum, thirty muxes, and thirty needles.

The first purchase of East Hamptom embraced about thirty thousand seven hundred and twenty acres, and the articles given in payment consisted of twenty coats, twenty-four looking glasses, twenty-four hoes, twenty-four hatchets, twenty-four knives, and one hundred muxes.

The first purchase of Oysterbay embraced upwards of twenty thousand acres, for which the first purchasers gave six Indian coats, six kettles, six fathom of wampum, six hoes, six hatchets, three pair stockings, thirty awl blades, or muxes, twenty knives, three shirts, peague 4*l.* sterling.

The decrease of the Indians is sometimes represented as if the whites were blameable for purchasing their lands. The decay of their numbers is a consequence of the settlement of the country by an agricultural people; the improvement of the country must diminish the game, lessen the means of their support, and drive them into the interior, with the wild beasts that furnish their sustenance, while they retain the character of hunters. Providence certainly never designed that the earth should be kept desolate by erratic nations, but should be so used as to afford support to the greatest number of human beings.

The United States, as the British government formerly did, permit the Indians within the limits of their political jurisdiction, to retain their own customs, to choose their own rulers, to make treaties, and preserve their relations with each other. They are not subject to our laws, and are not required to perform the duties of citizens; they are suffered to retain their independence, subject to our protection and control, so far only as their own welfare and the public safety require.

The government concedes to them the right of occupation, and

claims the right of soil, or ultimate domain. It suffers no advantage to be taken of the necessities or imbecility of individuals, by the fraud or avarice of our own citizens.

An Indian territory belongs to the tribe or nation, and cannot be sold by individuals. The alienation of their territory is a national act, and can only be done by treaty. The extinguishment of Indian claims, therefore, is an act of sovereignty, and no purchase made by an unauthorized individual is of any validity, nor was any purchase ever considered as legal from the first settlement of the country, which was made without authority, until it was confirmed by patent, or some other act of government.

Both powers endeavored to prevent the evils which usually result from the use of spirituous liquors by the Indians.

The Dutch governor in 1643, and the English governor in 1665, prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors to them.

In 1656 the town of Jamaica imposed a fine of thirty guilders on any one who should sell strong drink to an Indian.

The number and character of the Indians rendered it prudent for the first settlers to guard against surprise, and to be prepared to resist any attack by them. The several towns required every man to furnish himself with arms and ammunition, and to assemble at an appointed place in case of an alarm. In some of the English towns, a block-house, or small fort, was erected as a place of security in time of danger.

The people of Gravesend, in the infancy of their settlement, enclosed their village with palisadoes.

The Dutch governor in 1645, and the English governor in 1665, forbid the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians.

In 1641 the town of South Hampton resolved, that if any one should sell any warlike implements to the Indians, he should forfeit his whole personal effects. In 1650 the town of East Hampton resolved, that whosoever should sell powder, lead, or shot, sword, or flint, to any Indian, he should be liable to the penalty of twenty shillings, and if any one should sell a gun or pistol to one, he should pay ten pounds sterling.

It may have been partly in consequence of the destruction of their warriors, in their recent wars, and of their military spirit being

broken by their subjection to successive conquerors; but it was principally by cultivating the friendship of the chiefs, and particularly of the grand sachem of the whole, by respecting their rights, and treating them with uniform justice and kindness, by preventing excitement by artificial means, and by rendering success hopeless by withholding the means necessary to insure it, that the whites were exempted from any hostile combinations of the Long Island Indians.

The following comprises the remarks of Mr. Wood on the Mobeakanneew and Huron languages, &c.:

It is supposed that there were only two original Indian languages in the United States, north of the Roanoke; the Delaware and the Iroquois. The languages of the different tribes of New England, and most of the tribes from the Mississippi to Nova Scotia, are only different dialects of the Delaware language.

The structure of the Indian languages is different from that of all known languages, ancient or modern; and there is a great analogy in this respect, between those that are radically distinct.

The Indian languages have no substantive verb, and have no distinction of genders. The nouns are not varied to distinguish between male and female, but between animate and inanimate things. They admit of prefixes and suffixes, and sometimes blend several words together, so as to make a whole sentence of a single long word.

These languages are made up of these combinations; not only pronouns, but adjectives, conjunctions, and adverbs, are combined with the verb, and produce a great variety of forms of expression, and render them peculiarly copious and expressive.

The following Indian words are taken from a manuscript of the late John Gardiner, esq. deceased, who took them down from the lips of the Montauk chief, and is the only specimen of the language that could be obtained.

Massakeat mund	great good spirit		
Machees cund	evil spirit		
Saunchem	king		
Seaunskq	queen	nucquit	one
Wonnux	white man	neeze	two

Wonnuxk	white woman	nisk	three
Inchun	an Indian	yuaw	four
Wewauchum	Indian corn	nepaw	five
Mausquesects	beans	conma	six
Ausgoote	pumpkins	nusus	seven
Quauhaug	a round clam	swans	eight
Suxawaug	a long clam	passecucond	nine
Tobaugsk	tobacco	pyunck	ten
Cheaganan	a hatchet	cheesk	small
Niep	water	chiauk	large
Eeagh or eage	land	weegan	good
Mashuee	a canoe	muttadeaio	bad
Mahaweeskt	a little child	wedaums	roast corn
Yunks quash	young woman	cut daus	boiled corn
Squashees	little girl	seaump	pounded corn
Weenai	old woman	yeokeheag	roast corn pounded

Massakeat Mund sumana Inshun wewachum.—Great spirit give Indian corn.

At the time the above words were taken down, there were no more than seven persons among them who could speak the language, and it may now be considered as extinct.

From the following table exhibiting the same words in the Massachusetts, Narraganset, and Montauk languages, it is evident that they are all kindred languages, and that they are, with very little variation, the same dialect.

	Massachusetts.	Narraganset.	Montauk.
one	Nequit	Nequit	Nucquit
two	Neese	Neese	Neese
three	Nisk	Nisk	Nisk
four	Yau	Yoh	Yuaw
five	Nepanna	Nepanau	Nepaw
six	Negutta	Qutta	Conma
seven	Nesausuk	Enada	Nusus
eight	Shwosuk	Showsuck	Swans
nine	Paskoogun	Paskugit	Passecucond
ten	Piuk	Piuck	Pyunck
king		Sachem	Saunchem

queen		Saunks	Seaunskq
corn		Ewachim	Wewauchum
land	Ohke	Auke	Keagh or eage
water	Nippe		Neip
canoe		Mishoon	Mashuee
a girl		Squasese	Squashees
young woman	Nunksqau		Yunk Squash
old woman		Weinse	Weenai

The foregoing extracts we have taken from the Hon. Silas Wood's Sketch of the first settlement of Long Island. We have supposed that they could not fail to interest most readers. Mr. Wood has collected a mass of intelligence in relation to the Indians who formerly resided on that island, which he has arranged in a methodical manner. Nearly the whole may be said to be new, as what had been published before was confined to some insulated facts, without order or method.

Mr. Wood has been at great pains in examining public and private collections of papers belonging to individuals, and has, perhaps, collected every thing respecting the ancient inhabitants of Long Island that is extant.

The following is an imperfect vocabulary of the Powhatan language, constructed from fragments of that language found in the travels of Captain John Smith, the founder of the state of Virginia. The reader, on comparing some of the words, will find that they agree with some of the words in Mr. Wood's Sketch of Long Island.

Cardinal Numbers.

Ne-cut	One
Ningh	Two
Nuss	Three
Yowgh	Four
Pa-ranske	Five
Co-mo-tinch	Six
Top-pa-woss	Seven
Nuss-wash	Eight
Ke-ka-tawgh	Nine

Kas-keke	Ten
Ningh-sa-poo-eks-ku	Twenty
Nuss-a-poo-eks-ku	Thirty
Yowgh-a-poo-eks-ku	Forty
Pa-rans-ke-stass-a-poo-eks-ku	Fifty
Co-mo-tinch-tass-a-poo-eks-ku	Sixty
Top-pa-woss-tass-a-poo-eks-ku	Seventy
Nuss-wash-tass-a-poo-eks-ku	Eighty
Ke-ka-tawgh-tass-a-poo-eks-ku	Ninety
Ne-cutt-ough-ty-sin-ough	One hundred
Ne-cutt-wevn-qua-ough	One thousand.
Nem-a-rough	A man.
Cre-ne-po	A woman.
Mar-o-wan-chess-o	A boy.
Caw-caw-wass-ough	A priest, elder, &c.
Wer-o-wance	A king; also the chief of a tribe, a captain, &c. Every town had its werowance.
Cau-cor-ouse	A captain or leader. The head of a canton.
Ke-wass-a	Chief God.
Okee	God. Okees is the plural.
Qui-yough-co-sugh-es	A species of gods, who were supposed to be inferior to the Okees. The priests, after death, were supposed to be transformed into Quiyoughcosughes, who in the other world held subordinate stations.
Qui-youk-o-suck, or Qui-yough-ka-souck	An elder, a priest, &c.
Qui-yough-co-han-ock	The town, place, or habitation, of the priests. The place where sacrifices were offered.
Paw-cor-an-ces	Altars made of stones, upon which tobacco, &c. were offered; a pile; a heap.
Mach-a-com-o-ko	House of the town; a storehouse, &c.

Ye-haw-kans	Houses; habitations.
Matchcores	Clothing; skins or garments.
Mockasins	Shoes. The Powhatans, & others, wore shoes made of deer skins dressed.
Tussan	Beds; places of rest; a bed.
Po-ka-ta-wer	Fire; heat.
Attawp	A bow.
Attonce	Arrows.
Monakooke	A sword; the plural is Monakookes.
Aumoughhowgh	A target or shield.
Pawcussacks	Guns.
Tomahacks	A tomahawk; a small axe or axes.
Ahacks	Axes.
Tockabacks	Pick-axes.
Tock	To pick; a pick.
Pamesacks	Knives; a knife.
Accowprets	Shears.
Pawpecones	Pipes.
Mattassin	Copper.
Ussawassin	Iron, brass, silver, &c.
Musses	Woods; forests.
Attasskuss	Leaves, weeds, or grass.
Canowe, or Canoe	A canoe; a little boat.
Chepsin	Land; the ground.
Shacquohocan	A stone or rock.
Wepenter	A cuckold; the husbandof an adultress.
Suckahanna	Water.
Noughmass	A fish.
Copotone	A sturgeon.
Weghshaughes	Flesh; meat.
Sawweehone	Blood.
Netoppew	Friends.
Marrapough	Enemies.
Maskapough	The worst of the enemies.
Mawchick chammay	The best of friends.
Osies	The heavens.

Pummahumps	The stars.
Keskoughe	The sun.
Keskoughes	Suns.
Nepawweshowghs	Moons.
Rawcosowghs	Days.
Toppquough	Nights.
Kekughes	Lives.
Righcomoughes	Deaths.
Morap	Grass.
Mowchick	I myself; I.
Tassautessus	Strangers.
Uttasantasough	Strangers; also English ships.
Popanow	Winter; cold weather.
Cattapeuk	Spring; putting out of the leaves; leaving of the trees.
Cohattayough	Summer.
Nepinough	The earing of corn.
Taquitock	The harvest and falling of the leaves; frost time.
Assentamens	Pease.
Pausarowmena	A dish of victuals made of scorched corn boiled with beans.
Temmes	A basket which was used as a sieve: a sieve.
Manotyens	Baskets.
Ponap	A kind of bread made of corn meal baked in hot ashes; bread is the literal.
Rawrenoke Rawranoke Rawrenock	White beads; beads.
Rawre, or Rawra	White.
Noke, or Nock	Beads.
Ustatahamen, or Ustatahamena	A dish of food prepared from the grouts of corn (which would not pass through the temmes,) by boiling.
Pungnough	Food prepared from burnt corn made into broth.

Macocks	Pumpkins; squashes.
Audowgh	To make; also a çhain.
Maracocks	A fruit resembling the lemon; the mandrake,
Putchamins	A plumb resembling a medler; a plumb.
Messamins	A grape of the size of a cherry; the grape.
Chechinquamins	A small fruit with a husk like a chesnut growing on little trees: the fruit itself is like an acorn.
Rawcomens	A berry much like the English gooseberry; a gooseberry.
Paw-co-hic-co-ra	Drink made of water mixed with walnuts pulverized; it was milk white; beverage.
Hiccora	A walnut.
Ocoughtanamnis	Berries, resembling capers, growing in wet valleys, &c.
Mattoum	A plant resembling a beet; it is edible when roasted.
Tockawhouge	A root growing in marshes, and of the size of a potatoe; it was roasted and eaten.
Tocknough	A root.
Wighsacan	A medicinal root.
Pemmenaw	A kind of grass which was fabricated into thread.
Pocones	Small roots which when dried and powdered turn red; these were used for swellings, ointment, paint, &c.
Musquaspen	A root of the size of the finger, and as red as blood.
Wogawghtawgh	Very hungry.
Tarks	Little; small.
Yowo	This.
Kakatorawines	What call you it, &c.
Kator	Truely; verily.

Quagh	Come, bring, &c.
Keragh	Then.
Uttapitchawayne	To lie; to tell a falsehood.
Utteke	Get you gone; begone.
Anpechitchs	Stay; staid; he staid.
Peya	Hither; then.
Wighwhip	Quickly.
Acquintan	Any more.
Casacunnakack	In how long a time. In how many days.
Yourowgh	A great way hence.
Tawnor	Where.
Nehiegh	To dwell; he lives, &c.
Mache	Now; at this time.
Patiaquagh	Come hither.
Patia	Hither; here.
Kekaten	To bid; he bids.
Epeyaweyack	Come again.
Spaughtynere	To run; run.
Neer	Not; and.
Mattagh	To do; do you.
Wawgh	Him.
Utchunquoyes	An animal like a wild cat; the wild cat.
*Aroughcun, or Rarowcun	The racoon.
Opassom	The oppossum.
Assapanick	The flying squirrel.
†Mussasscus	The muskrat.
Aroughcund* Mussquassus†	Are Moheakanneew.

Our people have borrowed the words moccasin, tomahawk, canoe, racoon, opossum, and musquash, from the Powhatan or Moheakanneew language.—See the words mockasin, tomahack, canowe, aroughcun, or aroughcund, opassom, and mussasscus, or mussquassus.

The word Pone, in common use among the Virginians, is from the Powhatan word Ponap. The Powhatans called bread made of corn meal baked in hot ashes Ponap.

Powow, a dance; also a priest or magician; also Culheag, a log-trap.

Sachem in the same language is Saunchem.

Samp, pounded corn, is from Seaump, a Montauk word.

Weeckwaum, is the word from which we have derived Wigwam, an Indian house.

Wampum, money. Wampum was composed of small beads made of shells, strung on belts or in chains. They were perforated. They were white, purple, blue, black, &c. A belt of wampum was often bestowed as a token of friendship. In treaties it was considered a confirmation. Belts were always exchanged on such occasions.

On comparing the Powhatan names of places with the Moheakanneew names, the reader will find most of the terminations alike. The uck, the ack, the eck, the ock, and the ick, correspond. Names of places having such terminations, are now common in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New-York, and New England. Words ending in up, cus, co, on, en, ag, um, unt, et, ank, ink, unk, ut, ant, an, nd, and agh, are similar. Many of these are also common. The reader, by comparing the names of some places, will find them the same, or differing slightly. He will also find words alike except the last syllable. The structure of the words denoting the names of places is analogous, and such as would not occur were they not derived from the same language.

A small collection of Agoneasean words.

Uscot	One.
Teckane	Two.
Ochsooh	Three.
Kihyalee	Four.
Wiske	Five.
Yawyock	Six.
Jawtock	Seven.
Sautagoh	Eight.
Teuchtoh	Nine.
Weyalegh	Ten.
Uscotyawaunlegh	Eleven.
Teckaneyawaunlegh	Twelve.

Ochsoohyawaunlegh	Thirteen.
Kigyaleeyawaunlegh	Fourteen.
Wiskeyawaunlegh	Fifteen.
Yauyockyawaunlegh	Sixteen.
Jawtockyawaunlegh	Seventeen.
Sautagohyawaunlegh	Eighteen.
Teuchtohyawaunlegh	Nineteen.
Towaughsaugh	Twenty.
Towaughsaughyawaunlegh	Twenty-one.
Ochsoohnewausaugh	Thirty.
Kihyaleenewausaugh	Forty.
Wiskenewausaugh	Fifty.
Yauyocknewausaugh	Sixty.
Jawtocknewausaugh	Seventy.
Sautagohnewausaugh	Eighty.
Teuchtonewausaugh	Ninety.
Uscottoinyauwa	One hundred.
Egh	I, me, &c.
Loughhau	He.
Acauoughhau	She.
Na	It.
Ouo	The same.
Esah	Ye, or you.
Latenoohaugh	They.
Eghaughgauwunk	Mine.
Toowauweneghyough	Ours:
Tooaughquagoh	Us, all of us.
Saughwunk	Yours.
Loughoghwunk	His.
Occowunk	Theirs.
Loughhaugh	Him.
Lutteneughhaugh	Them
Auckaoughhaugh	Hers.
Oohcaugh	Who.
Caunecauyegh	Which.
Naughhodaugh	What.
Ooktegauhwenehyough	Either.
Congcoyya	These.
Tuckcaughta	Other.

Saughtaughcaterelew	Such.
Caughquagogh	All.
Tacaughta	Another.
Lewerllhunta	Ambassador.
Laughgehaughstauchee	Minister.
Saughgooyaughtaughgentaugh	Benefactor.
Cotsanaugh	Animal.
Haughgenaugh	Man.
Laughtegenaugh	Men.
Coonheghtea	Woman.
Atteanheghtea	Women.
Laughganeghhaugh	Father.
Istaugh	Mother.
Teyaughcanedaloo	Wife.
Leyaaugh	Son.
Ickhaaugh	Daughter.
Tayagaughnotala	Brother.
Ickhagaugha	Sister.
Lockanohaugh	Uncle.
Aughgarlasaya	Cousin.
Locksaughaugh	Boy.
Yicksaughaugh	Girl.
Aughquooya	Child.
Sauguoideleghhau	Judgment.
Loughenneyugh	God.
Tarenyawagon	The holder of the heavens.
Cawroghqua	Sun.
Chowgorascawroghqua	Moon.
Yurhon	Day.
Chowgoras	Night.
Ochnagah	Water.
Cooghsilhaughga	Winter.
Congqueta	Spring.
Cunhana	Summer.
Cunnanaughgana	Fall.
Jughshalot	From spring to spring.
Enigoriyo	The good mind.
Enigonhahetgea	The bad mind.
Teughwaughquathoge	A portage.

Teaughoga	Forks of the river.
Nowadaga	A swamp, or muddy place.
Conyauyau	Snow.
Cauroneta	Tree.
Onesta	Corn.
Onusera	Pumpkins.
Ochnonata	Potatoes.
Ochsoquacauroneta	Chesnut tree.
Ochsoqua	A nut.
Noneda	A hill.
Oniyutaaugha	People of the standing stone.
Owana	A bow.
Correghta	An arrow.
Connewaughaughtogo	A tomahawk.
Ausharie	A knife.
Caughwauyau	A canoe.
Skonyoghsa	A moose.
Connewauskonyoghsa	An elk.
Connewau	Little.
Yockcosautus	A horse.
Skononedo (also Skuneantoh)	A deer.
Oquare	A bear.
Oquahogh	A wolf.
Harehot	A dog.
Chitsho	A fox.
Geneto	A beaver.
Saranooha	A mink.
Ocquadaga	A squirrel.
Tockoose	A cat.
Onnaganechee	A snake.
Kenchee	A fish.
Kouoronequa	An eel.
Otchetah	A bird.
Choya	A crow.
Kitkithighyauna	An owl.
Oretah	A pigeon.
Skowaroghwauna	A turkey.
Kitkit	Chickens ; a hen.
Ochtaughqua	Moccasins.

Wautowana	A flock.
Quanaochquwauna	A chief.
Corraughgo	White.
Onaughgoghtera	Red.
Ogenaquot	Yellow.
Caughhoonege	Black.
Quanaugh	Big.
Kauhagwarahka	A cap.
Goyogoh	A mountain rising from water.
Conoosa	Love.
Cosha	Give.
Saudago	Run.
Connoneyock	Sing.
Esasatusnusquos	Steal.
Occoyotus	Work.
Anaga	High above.
Connanauga	Down below.

CHAPTER X.

Discovery of America.

Voyages of Cabot, Verrazzano, Frobisher, Raleigh, and Hudson—Passage of Hudson up the river which bears his name—Settlement of the Dutch at New-York and Albany.

The Peopling of the various parts of the earth has been slow. All the emigrations in the infancy of society were made by land. The oceans formed insurmountable barriers, before men had acquired some knowledge of navigation. The Phœnicians were the first people who possessed the art. They discovered Greece, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Barbary, and most of the islands in the Mediterranean sea, in the same manner that the Spaniards discovered America. In most of these countries, they planted colonies, built cities, introduced arts, letters, laws, and civilization.

The Phœnicians passed the straits of Gibralter, and entered the Atlantic ocean. In the north, they discovered the British islands, the coast of Gaul, Belgium, Germany, &c. and in the south, the Canary islands.

About six hundred and four years before the Christian era, the Phœnicians sailed from a port in the Red sea, doubled the cape of Good Hope, and returned by the straits of Gibralter, to the mouth of the Nile in Egypt.

The Carthagenians, a Phœnician colony, sailed along the western coast of Africa, almost to the tropic of Cancer.

The Phœnicians visited the countries around the Persian gulf, and those regions situated along the western coast of Hindostan.

The Greeks who succeeded the Phœnicians, made no important discoveries or improvements in navigation.

The progress which the Romans made in navigation and discovery was very inconsiderable.

After the destruction of the Roman empire, navigation nearly expired. At length the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans revived it. The former states had acquired the height of their glory, about the time the Portuguese discovered a passage to the East Indies by the cape of Good Hope.

Among the modern nations, the Portuguese have the honor of having first opened the way to maritime discovery. John I. king of Portugal, in 1411, sent some vessels to make discoveries along the western coast of Africa. These vessels advanced southwardly to cape Bojador.

Henry, duke of Viseo, in 1418, fitted out a ship, and gave the command of it to John Gonzalez Zare, and Tristan Vaz, who discovered Porto Santo, an island near Madeira.

Gilianez, a captain in Henry's employ, doubled cape Bojador in 1431. The Portuguese, in a few years proceeded southwardly to Cape de Verde. The Cape de Verde islands were discovered in 1446, and the Azores in 1449. Between 1412 and 1463, the Portuguese advanced nearly fifteen hundred miles along the western coast of Africa, and within five degrees of the equator.

John II. in 1484, sent a powerful fleet out, which after discovering the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, proceeded fifteen hundred miles beyond the equator. Upon its return, he fitted out a squadron for the East Indies, which he entrusted to Bartholomew Diaz. This officer discovered the cape of Good Hope, but could not double it in consequence of the storms.

Among the foreigners in the Portuguese service, was Christopher Columbus a Genoese. In 1461 he went to sea, being only fourteen years old. His early voyages were in the Mediterranean. Afterwards he made a voyage to the British Islands, Iceland, &c. On his return, he entered into the service of a Captain of his own name, and made several trips to the Low Countries. At length, in an action on the coast of Portugal with the Venetians, the vessel on board of which he served took fire and burnt up. In this dreadful extremity, he threw himself into the sea, laid hold of an oar, and swam to the shore, distant two leagues. From thence he repaired to Lisbon, and entered into the employment of the Portuguese. He made several voyages, and acquired great reputation.

While in their employment, he conceived the idea of finding a passage to the East Indies, by sailing westwardly across the Atlantic ocean. In 1474, he communicated this to the Senate of Genoa, but they rejected it.

Columbus made his next overtures to John II. king of Portugal, who refered his plan to Diego Ortoz bishop of Ceuta, and others, but they disapproved it.

Columbus then went to Spain towards the close of the year 1484, where he laid his plan before Ferdinand and Isabella. the sovereigns of the country. They remitted the consideration of it to Talavera the queen's confessor, who, after a lapse of five years reported against it.

Columbus applied next to the dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, but with as little success. Mean while, he resolved to visit the English court, and made preparations for this purpose; but Juan Perez, the guardian of the monastary of Rabida, induced him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez had some credit with Queen Isabella, to whom he wrote, and advised her to reconsider the plan. Moved by the letter of Perez, she desired him to repair to Santa Fe, where the court then resided. Quantanilla and Santangel, two persons of great influence, interested themselves in his behalf. The negotiation now went forward, and a capitulation with Columbus was signed on the fourteenth day of April, 1492. Columbus was constituted high admiral and viceroy of all the seas, islands, and continents, which he should discover. It was also stipulated, that he and his heirs, should for ever enjoy these offices, together with the tenth of the free profits, accruing from the productions and commerce of those countries.

Orders were immediately given for the equipment of a fleet. On the third day of August 1492, Columbus sailed from Palos, a town in Spain. He steered directly to the Canaries, and touched at Gomera, one of the most westerly islands. Here the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin. Columbus held his course nearly due west, crossed the ocean, and on the twelfth day of October discovered Guanahami, one of the Bahama isles, which is three thousand miles distant from Palos. He shortly after discovered several other small islands. Proceeding in a south-westerly

course, he discovered Cuba, and afterwards Hayti. Here he landed and erected a fort, which he called Navidad. Thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, were left in it.

On the fourth of January 1493, Columbus sailed for Spain, and arrived at Palos on the fifteenth of March. He was received with distinguished marks of honour, and treated as a person of the highest respect.

An order was given to equip an armament to take possession of the countries which he had discovered. Volunteers of every description solicited to be employed. The preparations for the expedition were carried on with rapidity. The fleet consisted of seventeen ships, and had fifteen hundred men on board. On the twenty-fifth of September, 1493, Columbus set sail from Cadiz on his second voyage, and on his way to Hayti discovered a number of islands. On his arrival, he founded a city which he called Isabella. This was the first city which the Spaniards built in America. In this voyage he made no discovery of importance, except Jamaica.

Columbus, in his third voyage discovered the continent of South America. He sailed along the coasts of Cumana and Paria; but was obliged at length to return to Hispaniola.

Columbus made a fourth voyage in 1497. In this he discovered a large extent of the continent. On his return, he was obliged to run his vessels aground on the island of Jamaica, in consequence of their leaky condition. After remaining there eight months, he returned to Hispaniola, and from thence to Spain.

The account of Columbus' voyages and discoveries, excited a spirit of enterprise in several countries in Europe. Henry the VIII. invested Giovani Gabotto, (or Cabot as the English called him,) a Venetian, who had settled in Bristol, with the command of a small armament. He embarked in May 1497, and set out with one ship and four barks. After sailing for some weeks due west, and nearly on the parallel of the port of Bristol, he discovered Newfoundland, and in a few days descried St. Johns. He landed on both these islands. Continuing his course westwardly, he soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the fifty-sixth to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, from

the coast of Labrador to that of Virginia. It does not appear that he landed on any part of the continent, during this long run.

John de Verrazzano, a Florentine, in the service of France, arrived about the middle of March 1540,on the North America coast, in latitude thirty-four north, and proceeded southwardly to the region of palm trees, in latitude about thirty-one. He then turned, and advanced north-eastwardly along the coast, until he came to about latitude forty-one, where he entered a harbor, which, from the description, has been thought by some to be that of New-York.

Verrazzano describes the harbor as situated in forty-one degrees, and two terces in the same parallel of Rome. He staid in this harbor fifteen days. During this period, he and his men went several times on shore, where they were very kindly entertained by the natives. From the description, we should rather be inclined to think it was Newport in Rhode Island, which is in latitude forty-one degrees and twenty-nine minutes.

On the fifth day of May, Verrazzano departed from this harbor, and directed his course east, and then north-east, until he reached latitude fifty-six north, somewhere on the coast of Labrador. Here he turned, and sailed direct for France, where he arrived about the first of July. He gave to the whole country the name of New France. But his voyage and discoveries excited no attention.

The next voyages of note were conducted by Martin Frobisher, in search of a north-western passage to China, and the East Indies. In three successive voyages he explored the coast of Labrador, and that of Greenland. His first voyage was in 1576: his second in 1577, and his third in 1578. He did not go south of Labrador.

Hitherto, the English had made no attempts at colonization. In the year 1578, Sir Humphry Gilbert first conducted a colony to North America. Two expeditions which he conducted in person; the one in 1579, and the other in 1580, ended disastrously. In the last, he himself perished.

The next person who attempted to make a settlement, was Walter Raleigh. He dispatched two small vessels under Amadas and Barlow, to visit the countries which he intended to settle. They visited the coast of North Carolina, and returned. They sailed

again the 27th of April, and returned on the 15th of September, in the same year.

Raleigh, in 1585, fitted out seven small vessels, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who sailed to America, and planted a colony on the island of Roanoake in North Carolina; but it was broken up the following year.

Early in the year 1588, he fitted out three ships under Captain White, who arrived thither with a colony more numerous than the preceding, but it perished by famine or in a war with the natives.

See Robertson's Hist. of America, also vol. 1 of the New-York Hist. Collections.

On the tenth of April, 1606, James I. for planting two colonies, passed the great North and South Virginia patent. To Sir Thomas Gates, and others, leave was given to begin a plantation at any place on the continent they should think convenient, between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude; and all the lands extending fifty miles on each side along the coast one hundred miles into the country; and all the islands within one hundred miles opposite to their plantations were granted in fee, to be called the first colony. By the same patent a like quantity was granted to Thomas Hengham, and others, for a plantation, between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees of latitude, under the name of the second colony. The first began a settlement at Jamestown, on James river, in Virginia, in 1607. The latter was planted at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, in 1620.

Captain Henry Hudson, in the employment of the Dutch East India company, sailed from the Texel, in Holland, on the sixth day of April, 1609, in search of a north-west passage to China, and the East Indies, but not succeeding in this, he formed the resolution of visiting America. He arrived on the coast on the eighteenth day of July, in latitude forty-four degrees north, at or near where Portland, in the state of Maine, now stands, and landed. The Moheakanneews were very kind and hospitable; but it seems that he and his men requited this kindness and hospitality by robbing them of their property, and other acts of violence. From thence Hudson proceeded southwardly to Cape Cod, where he made a second landing on the third day of August. On leaving this place

he advanced south-westwardly to the entrance of Chesapeake bay. Here he turned and stood to the north, keeping near the coast, and on the twenty-eighth of the same month discovered Delaware bay, into which he entered. Departing from this bay, Hudson pursued a northerly course, and arrived on the third of September at Sandy Hook, where he anchored for the night and sent a boat ashore. From thence he went to the Narrows leading into New-York bay, where he stopped and cast anchor. On the eleventh he weighed anchor, passed up the Narrows, and entered (New-York,) the bay, where he came to. On the twelfth he got under way, and ascended the river which bears his name, two leagues, and stopped. On the thirteenth he resumed the ascension of the river, and reached the head of ship navigation five miles above the city of Hudson on the twenty-second. From this place he dispatched the mate with a boat and four men to explore and sound the river higher up. The mate ascended eight or nine leagues, where he found only eight or nine feet of water. This must have been in the vicinity of Troy.

Upon the return of the mate, Hudson descended the river to New-York bay, from whence he returned to the Texel.

During his stay in the waters of this state, it appears that Hudson and his men had frequent interviews with the Lenni Lenape and Aganuschioni, who, except in two or three instances, were very friendly and civil, and readily exchanged provisions, and such things as they had, with the crew, for beads, toys, and other small articles.—See Hudson's Journal in the New-York Historical collections, Vol. 1.

In the year 1610 the Dutch East India company sent hither one ship for the purpose of trading with the natives. Ships belonging to the same company visited New-York bay and Hudson's river successively, in the years 1611, 1612, and 1613, but no attempt was made at settlement.

The States' General of the Netherlands, in the early part of the year 1614, granted a patent to sundry merchants for an exclusive trade on Hudson's river. In the grant the country was styled New Netherlands. The company the same year built a fort and trading house on an island in the river, about half a mile below where the

city of Albany now stands. Henry Christiaens was entrusted with the command. This seems to have been the first establishment formed by the Dutch in the New Netherlands. It was judiciously selected for defence against savages. The island at present is called Dunn's island, and contains about seventy acres of land. It is near the west side of the river. It is alluvial and very fertile, being mostly subject to annual inundations. The land was cleared and under cultivation. The Mohawks every year planted it with corn. On this island they had a small village. Dunn's island now contains one house.

Towards the latter part of the same year the company erected another small fort and a trading house at the southerly end of Manhattan island. The fort occupied a part of the battery, and some of the grounds adjoining it on the north. To this establishment they gave the name of New Amsterdam. Both were enclosed with pallisadoes, and mounted with some small pieces of cannon. The Mohawks, Mohiccons, &c. gave to the Dutch a very friendly reception. They sold them furs and provisions, and treated them like brethren. They imagined that the residence of these strangers would be only temporary.

"Adrian Block, in 1614, sailed from the fort and trading house at the south end of Manhattan island, through the Sound to Cape Cod, and visited the intermediate coasts and islands. He was the first European who ever passed through Hell Gate."—See Silas Wood's Sketch of Long Island.

In 1615 the company constructed a small fort at the mouth of Norman's Kill, about a mile and a half southerly of the fort on Dunn's island. The place where the city of Albany stands, and the adjoining parts, the Mohawks called Schaunaughtada, that is, a place beyond, on the other side, or over the plains. The designation was, in respect to Ohnowalagantle, on the river Mohawk or Canneogahakalononitade. At the time the Dutch arrived several small bands of Mohawks resided on the west bank of the Hudson, and on the islands in that stream. The eastern bank of that river was occupied by bands of the Moheakanneews. The river was the boundary between those hostile tribes. Violent disputes then existed between the members living on its banks in relation to the

islands. The Hudson was called by the Mohawks Cahohatatea, and by the Lenni Lenape, Mahackaneghtuck. To Schaunaughtada the Dutch first bestowed the appellation of Aurania, and then Beverwyck.

The company in 1618 built a redoubt at the Kingston landing, and established a post at Esopus, now Kingston, in the county of Ulster. This place is on the south side of Esopus creek, and two miles west of the landing. The banks of the Hudson below Catskill, and those of Walkill and Rundout rivers, and of Esopus creek, were inhabited by bands of the Mahiccons and Mohickanders, or Wabingas. The Mahiccons and Wabingas belonged to the confederacy of the Lenni Lenape, and were kindred tribes.

Between the years 1616 and 1620, about twenty persons belonging to the company went from the fort on Dunn's island, below Albany, to Ohnowalagantle, now Schenectady, where they entered into a compact with the Mohawks, from whom they bought some land on which they erected a trading house. This they surrounded with pickets and fortified. Then Ohnowalagantle was a considerable town, and contained several villages and hamlets. The principal village stood within the bounds of the present city. The rich and beautiful intervale lands on the Mohawk, around the city, were mostly cleared and cultivated. On these the Mohawks grew corn, beans, and squashes, which in part afforded them subsistence. According to tradition, the village of Ohnowalagantle occupied the site of Connughariegugharie, the ancient capitol of the Mohawks. The same tradition informs us that it was abandoned some ages anterior to the colonization, and that Icanderago, at the mouth of Schoharie creek, was selected for the new capitol. We have no certain information in respect to the number of the Mohawks residing at Ohnowalagantle when the Dutch came to it. According to some accounts there were eight hundred fighting men, and according to others, less. The same accounts inform us that three hundred warriors lived upon the lands which have since been included in one farm. Without attempting to reconcile these jarring accounts, we may reasonably infer that the numbers were considerable.

The company in 1618 erected an establishment at Bergen, in

the state of New Jersey. The Wabingas called this place Scheyichbi; and the flat country, south and south-east of the mountains, comprising parts of the latter state and Pennsylvania, Tulpahocking.

The States' General of the Netherlands, in the year 1621, made a grant of the whole country to the Dutch West India company. In 1623 this company formed two new establishments, the one on the west side of Delaware bay, and the other on the west side of Connecticut river, where the city of Hartford has since been built. Forts and trading houses were erected at both places. To the former they gave the name of Nassau, and to the latter that of Good Hope. Johannes de la Montagne was the first deputy governor at the last place. The same year they built fort Orange on the west side of the Hudson, about half a mile above Dunn's island. A village soon rose in its vicinity. Fort Orange stood in the southeasterly quarter of the city of Albany.

In 1628 the Dutch erected a small fort at the mouth of Connecticut river; they called this river Varsche Rivier, that is, Fresh River.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of Wouter Van Twiller.—Extent of the country claimed by the Dutch.—View of the Indian tribes who possessed the country, &c.

Wouter Van Twiller arrived at fort Amsterdam, now New-York, in June, 1629, with a considerable number of families, and took upon himself the government. His style in the patents granted by him was thus: "We, director and council, residing in New Netherlands, on the island Manhattans, under the government of their high mightinesses the Lords, States' General of the United Netherlands, and the privileged West India company." Previous to his arrival the Dutch had built a small village around the fort, which they named New Amsterdam, after the city of Amsterdam in Holland. The first governor mentioned in the Dutch records is Wouter Van Twiller. It is intimated, in a letter of governor Kieft, that Peter Minuit preceded Mr. Van Twiller.

All the powers of government, executive, legislative, and judicial, civil, and ecclesiastical, were vested in the governor and council. The governor had the sole prerogative over the public lands. The Indian title was extinguished by him, or by individuals with his consent.—See Wood's Sketch of Long Island.

The colony now began to assume a regular form. Lands in the vicinity of the forts were purchased of the Mohiccons, Wabingas. Mohawks, &c. the original proprietors of the soil, and granted to the settlers who commenced improvements. The friendship and amity of the natives were sought and studiously cultivated. A regular intercourse was kept up at the different posts. The Dutch purchased furs, venison, and other commodities from them, and gave them in exchange knives, hatchets, blankets, beads, &c. The infant colony advanced in wealth and population.

Before, however, we proceed farther, we shall take a cursory view of the country which the Dutch claimed, and of the numerous tribes that possessed it, together with their stations, catastrophes,

&c. We consider such a course necessary in order to obtain a correct knowledge of the early history of the state.

The Dutch at this time claimed all that part of the continent of North America which at the present day constitutes the states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, and Vermont, together with the middle and western parts of the state of Massachusetts. To this extensive tract, comprising nearly one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, they had given the appellation of New Netherlands, out of a tender regard to their native country. A dense and interminable forest overspread the whole, a few very small spots excepted. Two nations, the Moheakanneews and Aganuschioni, possessed this extensive tract. Each nation had a language which its different members spoke and understood.* No affinity subsisted between the languages of these nations. Both nations were divided into tribes or cantons, while these again were subdivided into clans. Among the Moheakanneews, in some instances, each tribe formed a state or independent community, while in others several were leagued. The confederated tribes of the Lenni Lenape is an instance of the latter kind. The Aganuschionian cantons were united. The former inhabited the coasts of the Atlantic ocean and most of the interior, and were the most numerous as well as most extensively spread. The latter resided inland, and occupied the middle and western parts of the state of New-York, together with the north-western part of the state of Pennsylvania. They were the lords of the whole country, and claimed and exercised savage sway over the former.

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* There can be but little or no doubt that all the tribes on the coast, from the shores of Labrador to the confines of North Carolina, spoke the same language, with some modifications or provincial differences. The tribes of New England, the Lenni Lenape, the Shawnese, Nanticokes, Powhatans, &c. could all converse together. The Penobscots, Lenni Lenape, (Delawares,) Mohegans, Moheakanneews, &c. can at this day.

All the Huron tribes, of which the Aganuschioni were portions, spoke the same language.

The generic name adopted by the French for all the tribes of New England, was Abenaquis. The Abenaquis, and Lenni Lenape spoke the same language.

The Dutch, in the early period of their settlements, had intercourse with some of the tribes belonging to both of these nations. It was with them that they traded. It was with them that they formed alliances. It was from them that they bought lands, and obtained permission to erect forts and trading-houses. It was from them that they had leave to plant colonies, make improvements, and convert wastes into well cultivated farms.

In noticing the aborigines we shall commence with the Pequods, one of the Moheakanneew tribes, not that they were the first people of this nation with whom the Dutch had correspondence, but because order seems to require it.

The Pequods inhabited the country along the river Thames, in the state of Connecticut, and the contiguous parts. Their principal stations were in the towns of New London, Groton, Stonington, and Waterford. They had seven hundred warriors. The whole number of souls might have been about three thousand five hundred.

The Pequods were a warlike race, and were dreaded and detested by most of their neighbors. They had fought their way to the coast some ages anterior to the colonization. Several of the tribes adjoining them had been compelled to do homage. The New England planters in the year 1637 conquered, dispersed, and nearly annihilated them.

The Nehanticks occupied the country around the mouth of Connecticut river, and thence up that river a short distance. They were in subjection to the Pequods. An intimacy and friendship, however, subsisted between them, which neither the Dutch nor English could shake. Lyme, on the east side of the river, was their chief residence. The Nehanticks were mostly destroyed in the Pequod war. In numbers they fell short of that people.

The Mohegans lived north of the Pequods and Nehanticks, and owned most of the country on both sides of Connecticut river, northwardly almost to the Massachusetts boundary. They were divided into several tribes or cantons, such as the Mohegans, Podunks, Wongungs, &c.

We have intimated, that the Mohegans, Podunks, and some others living in Connecticut, were clans belonging to the Mohiccons,

one of the confederate tribes of the Lenni Lenape. The Mohickanders or River Indians, who resided in villages among the Mohegans, certainly were. These, had prior to the colonization, emigrated from the west side of the Hudson.

The Dutch concluded a treaty with them, and purchased some lands on the west side of the river, where Hartford now stands, on which they built a trading house and fort, in 1623. Subsequently they made improvements. The place they called Good Hope.

The English planters from Plymouth and Massachusetts, arrived in the year 1636, and also settled at Good Hope (now Hartford,) Windsor, Watertown, and Weathersfield. An alliance was also formed between them and the English, which was lasting. They assisted the latter in the war with the Pequods, and afterwards in the Indian war of 1674, 1675, and 1676. Very few of the tribe now remain in the state of Connecticut.

Some of the Mohickanders or River Indians lived in the country of the Mohegans, in the towns of Windsor, Weathersfield, Middletown, and Hartford.

The Mohickanders were one of the five cantons of the Lenni Lenape. They lived west of the Hudson, in the states of New-York and New Jersey. Those on Connecticut river we may reasonably conclude were emigrants. The state of the Lenni Lenape before its subversion, extended from the head of Chesapeake bay on the south, to beyond that river on the north-east. A band of the Mohickanders resided near Stissic mountain, between Hudson and Connecticut rivers. The confederate tribes of the Lenni Lenape very often blended with one another. The Mohiccons and Mohickanders not unfrequently lived in the same towns. They had the same language, laws, manners, and customs. The incidental distinctions now and then found in books, never existed out of books, and the heads of the compilers.

At the close of the Moheakanneew war in 1676, many of the fugitives fled westwardly, and obtained sanctuary among the Mohiccons and Mohickanders, their countrymen. From historical fragments, we find that two hundred crossed the Hudson below Albany, at one time, and that eighty halted at a Dutch village (not named,) on the east side of that river. These fugitives had escaped

from a place in Massachusetts, called Ausotunnoog (on Housatonic river, near Stockbridge, in Berkshire county.) The infuriated colonists had pursued them to this place, where they attacked, defeated, and dispersed them. Little is known about the numbers that escaped the vengeance of their inhuman conquerors; but we may reasonably conclude that these were not all.

The Nipnets occupied the greater part of the country between Massachusetts bay, and the mountains west of Connecticut river. They were divided into several clans. Their country bounded that of the Mohegans on the south. They engaged in the war with the rest of their countrymen against the colonists, and suffered severely. There are now no remains of the tribe.

The Coos possessed the state of Vermont, and the western part of New Hampshire. They were divided into several bands, who do not appear to have been united. In the years 1674, 1675, and 1676, they took part with the other tribes against the New England colonies. Afterwards they made frequent incursions into the colonial settlements on Connecticut river, and committed unheard of cruelties. At present, little more remains to them than a name.

The Moheakanneews possessed Berkshire in Massachusetts, and the adjoining parts of New-York westwardly to the Hudson, Stockbridge was their main residence. This people and the colonies of New England entered into close bonds of amity and friendship. They had on the north the Coos, on the east the Nipnets, on the south the Mohiccons, and on the west the Mohawks, from whom they were separated by the Hudson. The remnant of this tribe after the revolution, removed into the country of Oneida, in the state of New-York. Recently they have emigrated to Green bay, on the west side of lake Michigan.

When the Dutch arrived at Albany, violent controversies existed between the Moheakanneews and Mohawks, about the alluvial lands on the east side of the Hudson, and some of the islands in the river. To end these controversies, the commander of fort Orange invited the hostile chiefs into the fort, and persuaded them to bury the hatchet.

The Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, as they were called by the English, occupied the country from the head of the Chesapeake

bay, up to the Kittatinny or Blue mountain, and north-eastwardly to the other side of Connecticut river, comprehending that part of the state of New-York which lies between the Kaatskill mountains and the ocean, the westerly and middle parts of the state of Connecticut, all of the state of New Jersey, that part of the state of Pennsylvania which is watered by the Delaware, and the branches of that river which rise in that state, and the county of New Castle in the state, of Delaware, as far as Duck creek. The countries of the Moheakanneews and Mohawks were on the north, and those of the Shawanese and Susquehannocks on the west: the Nanticockes, Conoys, and Tuteloes, were on the south. On the east they had the ocean, &c.

The Delawares called themselves Lenni Lenape, which we understand means Indian men, or men born in the country. Lenno, in the language of this people, is man.

They also called themselves Woapanachky, which signifies a people living towards the rising sun. This name had applicability to their situation. The sun appeared to rise in the Atlantic ocean, which washed their country on the east, or rather south-east. Beyond the ocean, they imagined there was no land. To avoid confusion, we shall use the word Lenni Lenape. As to the word clan, we intend to avoid it as much as possible; had this been done long ago, we should not be troubled now with the names of thirty or forty tribes, where there were only five.

This nation or confederacy, consisted of five tribes or cantons, to wit: the Mohiccons, the Wabingas or Mohickanders, the Munseys, the Unami or Wanami, and the Chihohocki. The latter tribe took the lead.

Manhattans.—This name might be applied with some propriety to a clan of the Mohiccons, but to call the tribe by this name appears to us an absurdity. In detached fragments of history we find the word Mohiccon frequently used, but Manhattan never, except it be in allusion to the island on which the city of New-York stands, and its vicinity. The first Dutch settlers became acquainted with a few families living on this island, and learned that they called it Manhattan. Hence, the name of a tribe was given; but the early settlers did not intend it: for they never use the word, but in allusion to the island and its vicinity. Mohiccon, in aftertimes was

applied to places on Susquehanna river, and in Ohio, where the remains of this tribe retired and settled.

The Mohiccons occupied the middle and western parts of the state of Connecticut, the counties of Suffolk, Queens, Kings, Richmond, New-York, Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess, in New-York. They were subdivided into several bands, such as the Mohiccons, Manhattans, Manhattae or Manathanes, Quinnipiacks, Naugatucks, Mohegans, Podunks, Wongungs, Mantinicocks, Nipaquaugs, Sicatugs, Seatolcotts, Shinnacocks, Corchaugs, Montauketts, &c. The seven latter bands possessed the eastern and middle parts of Long Island. The Naugatucks, Quinnipiacks, &c. lived in Connecticut, the Manhattans on Staten and Manhattan islands, the western parts of Long Island, and the southern parts of Westchester county: the Mohiccons had the residue of Westchester, and the counties of Putnam and Dutchess, and the contiguous parts of Connecticut.

According to Mr. Wood's Sketch of Long Island, the following clans lived on it, to wit: (beginning on the west,) the Canarses, Rockaways, Merikokes, Marsapeagues, Secatagues, Patchagues, Mantinecocs, Nissaquagues, Sataukets, Corchaugs, Shinecocs, Manhattans, and Montauks.

The Wabingas or Mohickanders, had their dwellings mostly between the west or main branch of Delaware river, and Hudson's river, and from the Kaatskill mountains southwardly to the Rariton in New Jersey. They occupied the counties of Ulster, Sullivan, Orange, and Rockland, and part of Delaware in this state and the counties of Bergen and Essex, and parts of Middlesex, Morris, Somerset, and Sussex in New Jersey. They constituted the following bands, viz. the Sankikani, Minisinks, Pomptons, Narriticongs, Capibingasses, Gacheos, &c.

The Munseys held the country on the upper parts of Delaware, down to the Lehigh. In this state, they had the greater part of Delaware county, and in Pennsylvania, they had the counties of Wayne, Pike, and North Hampton.

The Unami, or Wanami, dwelt south of the Wabingas, and possessed all the residue of New Jersey lying south of the Rariton,

and between the ocean and Delaware river and bay. The Meletecunks, Mantaws, Sapoonies, &c. were clans of this tribe.

The Chihohocki were south of the Munseys, and west of Delaware river, and of Delaware bay. Their country extended from the Lehigh down to Duck creek, and comprehended the south-eastern part of the state of Pennsylvania, and the adjoining part of the state of Delaware. They formed a number of bands; namely, the Neshaminies, the Passajonks, the Chihohocki, the Minquas, Conestogas, &c.

The Minquas and Conestogas, two clans belonging to the Chihohocki, removed to Wechquetank, a place behind the Blue mountain in Pennsylvania, where they were mostly massacred by the people of Lancaster, in 1763, with vandalic fury, and this during a profound peace. In the revolution, the Americans completed the destruction of these clans. Wechquetank is thirty miles north-west by west from Bethlehem.

The Lenni Lenape were conquered by the Aganuschioni, about the time of the colonization.

As the colonists encroached upon them, they retired inland, and seated themselves on the head waters of Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, rather on the latter. Their stations were mostly in the counties of Delaware, Otsego, Broome, and Tioga in this state. From these parts, or the flat parts of Pennsylvania, a branch migrated westwardly to Ohio and Muskingum rivers. Since the revolution, those on the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, have removed westwardly, and joined their countrymen. Subsequently they have retired still farther west. Many of them have crossed the Mississippi.

The Sapoonies who lived at Diahago, and other places on the Susquehanna till after the revolution, were a family of the Unami or Wanami, a tribe of the Lenni Lenape. They removed from New Jersey after the settlement of that country by our people.

The Mohiccons who dwelt on the upper parts of Susquehanna river, and its branches in the county of Otsego, near the lake of that name, emigrated from the east side of Hudson's river, some time after the arrival of the Dutch. They were a portion of the Lenni Lenape, residing east of the latter river.

The Nanticockes, Conoys, and Tuteloes, who inhabited in the same parts with the Lenni Lenape, originally lived between Delaware and Chesapeake bays, in the states of Maryland and Delaware. They bordered on the Chihohocki, one of the Lenni Lenapian tribes. The Conoys and Tuteloes were probably cantons of the Nanticockes. After the Aganuschioni had penetrated to Chesapeake bay, and vanquished the Shawanese and Susquehannocks, an alliance was formed with them and the Nanticockes, Conoys and Tuteloes.

The latter have gone westwardly with the Lenni Lenape.

The Susquehannocks lived on the lower part of Susquehanna river, and on the west side of Chesapeake bay. They do not exist any longer as a tribe.

They probably blended with the Shawanese, a neighboring and kindred tribe. They may have been only a canton.

The Shawanese were north of the Susquehannocks, and west of the Lenni Lenape. They dwelt along Susquehanna river, and westwardly as far as the Alleghany mountain. The Shawanese had a close alliance with the Lenni Lenape. They were conquered by the Agoneaseah. The Shawanese have retired westwardly as our people have intruded upon them. They now live in the states of Ohio and Missouri.

The original seat of the Shawanese was in Pennsylvania, west of Susquehanna river. Subsequent to the colonization, they removed westwardly to the Alleghany, Monongahela, and Ohio rivers: since then, to the Scioto, &c. and laterly more west, some have even passed the Mississippi. In Ohio, they lived on Muskingum, Scioto, Sandusky, Miami, and other rivers. The Shawanese, Delawares, Miamies, Mingos, and Aganuschioni, often lived in the same villages. The Erigas, a Huron tribe, occupied much of Ohio before their dispersion by the Aganuschioni.

The Agoneaseah consisted of five tribes or cantons. They were called by the English the Five Nations, and by the French, Iroquois. These tribes were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Although divided into five independent comunities or republics, yet they were confederated, and formed only a single state. They possessed all the country from the

Hudson and head of lake Champlain, on the east, westwardly to Niagara river and lake Erie. Their country was bounded on the north by lake Ontario, and the country of the Adirondacks, or Algonquins, on the east by that of the Coos and Moheakanneews, on the south by that of the Lenni Lenape and Shawanese, and on the west by that of the Hurons, from which it was separated by Niagara river, and lake Erie. On the south-west it touched upon the Erigas. It comprehended about thirty thousand square miles, and was mostly in this state.

The Aganuschioni sometimes styled their confederacy Kenunctioni. Douglass estimates the extent of their empire at one thousand two hundred miles from north to south, and seven or eight hundred from east to west.

The Mohawks dwelt in the east, on the Mohawk and Hudson rivers, and their waters. Their country was about one hundred and ten miles in length from east to west, and about one hundred and twenty-five in breadth from north to south. Ticonderoga on the north, and Catskill creek on the south, were deemed boundaries. The Adirondacks were northwardly, and the Wabingas southwardly. It embraced nearly all of the counties of Greene, Albany, Schoharie, Schenectady, Saratoga, Warren, Hamilton, Montgomery, Otsego, and Herkimer, and parts of Oneida and Washington.

The Mohawks were divided into the following clans, namely: the Schaunactadas along the Hudson, at Albany and southwardly; the Saratogas at Stillwater, Saratoga, &c., on the same river; the Connestigunes on the Mohawk, below Schenectady; the Ohnowalagantles at Schenectady, Rotterdam, and Glenville; the Chuchtononedas along the same river, westwardly almost to Schoharie creek; the Icanderagoes on the Mohawk, at, and around the mouth of Schoharie; the Caughnewagas, at, and about Caughnewaga; (the Caughnewagas emigrated to Canada anterior to 1690, for some of them were with the French in the winter of 1690, when Schenectady was burnt. They reside mostly at St. Regis, on the confines of this state. Their village contains eighty or one hundred houses. They have thirty thousand acres of land, which is partly in Lower Canada, and partly in this state.) The Oswegatchies, lived about Anthony's Nose on the same river; the

Canajoharies at Canajoharie and Palatine; the Osquakes at Fort Plain, and on Osquake creek; the Nowadagas, at, and around the mouth of East Canada creek, and thence westwardly along the river to Fall Hill; the Kowogoconughariegugharies at Germanflats and about the mouth of West Canada creek, and the Schoharies on Schoharie creek.

Icanderago at the mouth of Schoharie creek, was the capitol or chief station of the tribe, when the Dutch first became acquainted with the Mohawks, and continued to be such, for one hundred years or upwards, afterwards. Con-nugh-ha-rie-gugh-ha-rie had been originally. It stood where Schenectady stands. Here the Mohawks had a large town, which could send out eight hundred warriors, if tradition is true. Why they in a measure abandoned it, and removed up to Icanderago, we have never been able to learn. Might it not have been on account of the hunting grounds? The flats at Icanderago were extensive, rich, and beautiful. They were surrounded by forests which abounded more with game.

In 1666, the French burnt this town, and all the villages in the neighboring parts.

The Mohawks, it is alleged, had two thousand warriors about the year 1629.

In 1688, twelve or fifteen hundred of the Aganuschioni made an incursion into Canada, crossed the St. Lawrence, surprised the town of Montreal, and murdered many of the inhabitauts. This marauding band belonged mostly to the Mohawk canton, and it is likely, that not over one-half of the able bodied men were engaged in it. We mention this expedition merely to show, that the numbers of the Mohawks have not been greatly overated. Even at this period they were considerably reduced. Many had perished in the long, and almost uninterrupted wars between them and the Adirondacks, Hurons, and French.

Towards the close of the seventeenth, and in the early part of the eighteenth century, the Caughnewagas, Oswegatchies and others, emigrated to Canada, and seated themselves on, or near the banks of the St. Lawrence. These emigrations comprised half or more of the Mohawk canton. From this time they declined very fast. Between 1730, and 1750, Nowadaga in the town of Danube, in

the county of Herkimer, became their main residence. The settlement extended three or four miles along the river, and consisted of several villages, or rather collections of huts erected at short intervals, without order, and according to the convenience or caprice of the occupants. Five hundred warriors could sally out of these villages in 1754. Bands belonging to this tribe resided at Schoharie, Fort Hunter, and Germanflats till the revolution, or a few years before. There are some persons now living, who remember the time, when the numbers were considerable, at Schoharie and Germanflats. In the valley of Schoharie, there were several villages and hamlets.

The Mohawks continued to reside here till 1776, when they broke up their quarters and removed in a body to Upper Canada. They now live on the bay of Quinty, and on Grand or Ouse river.

Kowogoconughariegugharie, at present Germanflats & Herkimer, was abandoned some time before Nowadaga. It contained several villages. The largest was on the south side of the Mohawk, nearly opposite the village of Herkimer. Its site is still discernable from the number of holes which they dug to bury their corn in during winter. It extended a mile or more, as these excavations would indicate.

The Mohawks were considered the oldest tribe, and were acknowledged by the others to be at the head of the confederacy. They were a terror to the Moheakanneews and others. Prior, and subsequent to the arrival of the Dutch, they made annual excursions northwardly to the St. Lawrence, eastwardly to Connecticut river, and southwardly to the ocean and the Potomac. Dr. Mather, who wrote towards the end of the seventeenth century, calls them men-eaters. We have quoted this to show what dread they inspired the conquerors of the Moheakanneews with. The story of their eating human beings is undoubtedly a fiction; but in New England it was once believed as a reality.

The Dutch made treaties with them, purchased lands of them, and traded with them. In after times the English, their successors, did the same. The Mohawk was a friend both to the Dutchman and Englishman. Corlear was a name sacred to him. All the

English governors in their treaties and compacts styled themselves Corlear.*

The Oneidas adjoined the Mohawks on the west. They dwelt on the banks of Oneida, Oriskinny, Sauquait, Cowassalon, Canasaraga, and Chitteningo creeks, around the head of Oneida lake, on Fish creek, and on Chenango river. The Oneida castle, or Kahnowolohale, or Cahnowellahella, as it is called by the Oneidas, was then, as it is now, their chief town. It is about twenty miles westwardly of Utica. Here the main body of the tribe had their permanent residence. Here all the internal concerns of the tribe were adjusted. The settlement was five or six miles in extent, and properly speaking consisted of several small villages and some hamlets. They had then, as they have now, a small grove of butternuts standing in an open space, in which they assembled to transact all their public business. This grove is situated on the south side of the great road leading from Utica to Buffalo, and conveys to us at this day a lively picture of patriarchal simplicity. In the early periods of the histories of the Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Greeks, we find that justice was administered under trees. Like the Mohawks the Oneidas formed several clans.

The Oneidas, in common with the other Aganuschionian tribes, suffered severely in the contests carried on against the Adirondacks and French. Like the others they for some time rejected every overture to an accommodation, and it was not before they had smarted under invasion that they would listen to peace.

After the peace the French sent missionaries to reside among them. These induced a part of the tribe to emigrate to Canada.

The country of the Oneidas was ninety or one hundred miles in length from south to north, and about thirty in breadth from east to west. The Mohawks country bounded them eastwardly, and that

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* Corlear is the name of a Dutchman that resided in Schenectady about the time of the surrender in 1664. He was highly respected and beloved by the Mohawks. In the autumn of 1665 M. Courcelles sent out a party from Canada against them, who were well nigh perishing with cold, when they fell in with Schenectady. These the Mohawks would have murdered had not Corlear interposed. He was afterwards drowned in lake Champlain, while on his way to Montreal.

of the Onondagas westwardly. It contains the county of Madison, and parts of Oneida, Oswego, Onondaga, and Chenango. Its forests had abundance of game.

The lands watered by the Sauquait and Oriskinny, were considered within the bounds of the Mohawk canton. In describing the Agoneasean cantons, the reader must not expect to find that degree of accuracy which marks the descriptions of our counties. We have aimed at the truth as much as possible, which is all we could do. The affairs of this people have been strangely neglected. Anterior to the war of the revolution some of the Oneidas lived in hamlets among the Mohawks.

The Onondagas lived west of the Oneidas, at Onondaga Hollow, on Onondaga creek, on Seneca and Oswego rivers, on Otisco inlet, on Onondaga river, Owasco inlet, &c. They formed several clans. The main body resided at the hollow at a place called the Castle, three miles south of the great road leading from Utica to Buffalo. This was not only the capitol of the canton, but of the Agoneasean state. Here the chiefs of the confederated cantons used to convene in a grand or national council, in order to deliberate upon the internal and external affairs of the nation. Here peace was made and war resolved upon. Originally the canton of Onondaga contained upwards of four thousand souls, and could send out eight or nine hundred warriors. It ranked next after the Mohawk and Seneca cantons. Their wars with the French and Adirondacks impaired their numbers. The emigrations to Canada and elsewhere had the same tendency. In 1683 the French under De Barre invaded their country, and compelled them, together with the Oneidas and Cayugas, to conclude a separate peace. The Onondagas, in common with the other members of the Agoneasean nation, waged war for a long time with the French and Adirondacks, or Algonquins. They maintained amity with the Dutch, and afterwards with the English till the end of our revolution.

The Castle at present contains about fifty houses, on a street nearly one mile in length, and about two hundred inhabitants.

The Onondagas are reduced to about six hundred souls. They now live at Onondaga, on Buffalo creek, at Tunessassah on Alleghany river, and on Grand river, in Upper Canada.

Their country formerly comprised the counties of Onondaga and Courtland, parts of Tompkins, Cayuga, Oswego, Madison, and Chenango. It was bounded on the east by the country of the Oneidas, on the north by lake Ontario, and on the west by the territory of the Cayugas. Its extent from north to south might have been ninety miles, and from east to west from thirty to forty.

The Cayugas possessed the country between the Onondagas and Senecas. It was laved on the north by lake Ontario, and stretched southwardly about ninety miles. It contained all of the county of Seneca, the easterly half of the county of Wayne, and the westerly parts of Cayuga and Tompkins. Their main stations were on the east and west sides of Cayuga lake, a little south of the outlet. Canoga, their chief town, was on the east side of the lake. Here they had a castle. The reservation is confined to the towns of Brutus, Aurelius, Scipio, Romulus, and Fayette.

The Cayugas cultivated the friendship of the English for a long time. They, with the other members of the confederacy, waged war against the French and Adirondacks, or Algonquins, for many years.

In 1779, according to Dodge, they had two hundred and twenty fighting men. The remains of the Cayugas now live on the reservation on Buffalo creek, on Alleghany river at Tunessasah, and on Grand river, in Upper Canada. Logan, the Mingo chief, was descended from an emigrant of this tribe.

The Senecas possessed the whole country west of the Cayugas. It was bounded on the north by lake Ontario, on the east by the country of the Cayugas, on the south by some portion of Pennsylvania, and on the west by lake Erie and Niagara river. The northwesterly counties of the latter state, on Alleghany river and on lake Erie, were included in it. In this state it comprehended the counties of Monroe, Orleans, Niagara, Erie, Chatauque, Cattaraugus, Genesee, Alleghany, Livingston, Steuben, Yates, Ontario, and part of Wayne.

The Senecas, after the Mohawks, were the oldest tribe, and held the second rank; the tribe was divided into several clans, or small communities. The chief seat of the Senecas was along Genesee river. Here they had a number of villages and towns.

The Senecas were engaged for a series of years in war with the French and Adirondacks. The French invaded their country several times, and laid waste some of their villages and towns. At last a peace and alliance was made. In the war for the conquest of Canada they sided at first with the French, but as their affairs declined they went over to the English. During the revolution they joined the latter nation, and made frequent and destructive inroads upon our frontier inhabitants, till the army of Sullivan invaded and devastated their settlements on Genesee and other rivers.

Their settlements at this time are mainly on Tonnawanta, Buffalo, and Cattaraugus creeks, and Alleghany river. The tribe does not now number over two thousand souls. They have disposed of nearly all of their lands.

The Aughquagahs, on Susquehanna river were a war colony. The Aughquagahs were mostly from the Seneca canton, and the Mingoes from the Cayuga. The Mingoes on Ohio river were also a war colony. The Cohunnewagoes, at Sandusky, in Ohio, were likewise a war colony. These were probably sent out about the time of the colonization, and a little afterwards. The Monacans, or Tuscaroras, were originally, it is supposed, a branch of the Huron nation. The Agoneaseah received and adopted them in 1712 under this supposition. They lived in Virginia and North Carolina, and consisted of five tribes. About the year 1607 they had fifteen hundred bowmen. An alliance subsisted between them and the Agoneaseah before the settlement of this state. After the adoption they constituted the sixth or youngest tribe. They settled among the Oneidas and Onondagas. At present they live on Tuscarora creek, in Niagara county, about three miles east of Lewistown, and on Grand river, in Upper Canada.

The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, had one common origin, and formed one federate republic. According to some the union had subsisted time immemorial. The Oneidas and Cayugas were called younger brothers, and the Mohawks and Senecas elder brothers. According to tradition the Agoneaseah came from the parts near Montreal, in Lower Canada, being driven away by the Adirondacks. The compact which they had formed and maintained gave them an ascendancy over all their

neighbors, and many distan tribes. The Adirondacks, although they had forced them out o Canada, were in the end subdued by them; the Hurons and the Erigas were also subdued; the Lenni Lenape, the Moheakanneevs, the Shawnese, Susquehannocks, Miamies, Illinois, and others had to submit. The latter nations, except the Illinois, submitted about the time the Dutch arrived in this state, or soon thereafter. The Agoneaseah had, as early as 1607, fought their way down Hudson's river to the ocean, and the Susquehanna to the head o Chesapeake bay. The Lenni Lenape had resisted them for a long time, but having lost many of their warriors they had to make an absolute submission. The confederate state of the Lenni Lenape was the most powerful on the coast of the ocean. It comprised about thirty thousand square miles, and, as we have remarked, consisted like that of the Agoneaseah of five tribes, who all spoke the same language. The Lenni Lenape, in their manners, laws, customs, habits and mode of living, differed in no essential respects from the Agoneaseah.

Having given a sketch of the New Netherlands, as claimed by the Dutch in the year 1629, and of the tribes that occupied it, we shall resume the history of the state, and narrate such facts as we have been able to collect. Scanty as these are, they are not without interest. Every thing which appertains to the foundation and progress of a great state possesses an intrinsic value. The humble founders of this state consisted of a small number of adventurers led hither in pursuit of gain. They did not imagine that they were laying the foundation of a great, populous, opulent, and commercial state. They had no conceptions of what was wrapped up in the archives of futurity. Yes, the humble settlers of New Amsterdam, when they erected a small fort and trading-house where New-York now stands, had no idea that they were laying the corner stones of a great city, the emporium of the United States. In a word, they had no ideas of a great commercial city, of an extensive, populous, and opulent state, of roads, bridges, and canals, then in embryo. But this ought not to appear strange to us. These ideas are recent. They have originated during the last fifty years. The emigrants from New England, "the cradle of our independence and sovereignty," have given a new impulse and direction to our affairs.

They have increased our population, augmented our wealth, introduced new manners and new customs, and, in fine, have changed the order of things. To this people we are indebted for many of our ideas, and most of our improvements. This is the people that has in a measure elevated the state of New-York, accelerated its growth, and given to it that elevated station which it now holds. Its forests, the former abodes of savages and wild beasts, have in part been purchased, occupied, and cleared by this people. Hundreds of towns and villages have risen. An active, enterprising, and industrious population, has been introduced as if by magic. Every thing has the appearance of being supernatural. Forests prostrated ; roads opened ; bridges made ; canals constructed ; counties erected ; towns and cities founded ; a numerous population introduced, and all the work of less time than the common age of man. How we are struck with transformations so sudden, so great. Posterity will scarcely credit them.

But to resume the subject. In the year 1628 the company erected a small fort at the mouth of Connecticut river. The Dutch called this river Varsche Rivier, that is, Fresh water river. A small settlement was formed in the vicinity of the fort, and some improvements were made. The Dutch ascended Connecticut river above one hundred miles, examined the country, and opened an intercourse with the natives. The ascending, exploring, and forming commercial correspondence, had been commenced before 1623. From the latter period the Dutch kept stations along the river, and maintained an intercourse with the inhabitants.

In 1627 a colony of Swedes and Fins landed at Cape Henlopen, and made a settlement on both sides of Delaware bay and river, in the states of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The aborigines called Delaware bay, Poutaxett, and Henlopen, Inlopen.

The Dutch had built three small forts prior to the arrival of the Swedes, and made some settlements, but the natives broke them up.

Wilhelm Useling, a merchant, set on foot a company, styled the West India Company, and obtained letters patent from Gustavus Adolphus, on the 26th of July, 1626, for making establishments in these parts. Measures were forthwith adopted to carry it into effect. John Prince was the first Swedish governor. His successor

was John Papegoia. John Claudy Rysing succeeded him. He was the last governor of the Swedes.—See account of New Swedeland, in the New-York historical collection, vol. 4.

In 1630 the Swedes built a fort at Lewistown, which they called Hoarkill, six or seven miles west of Cape Henlopen.

In 1631 they built another fort near Wilmington, called fort Christina, (Hopokahacking). Here they laid out a small town.

Wilmington is on Brandywine creek, five or six miles from New Castle.

The Dutch in 1632, according to the author of the New Netherlands, printed at Amsterdam in the year 1651, purchased the lands on both sides of Connecticut river from the natives. The contract and purchase were made by one Jacob Van Curlis, then in the employment of the States' General, and the West India Company, on the eighth of January, 1632. This purchase embraced the lands on the collaterals, as well as the principal stream. The Indigines knew nothing about conveyances in those times. It was not unfrequent for them to sell the very lands on which they lived. The conveyances which they signed they neither knew nor understood.

In the year 1635 Mr. Fenwick, an agent of Lord Say and Lord Brook, built a small fort at the mouth of Connecticut river which he called Saybrook, in honor of his patrons, and began a settlement or plantation around it. This fort was in the vicinity of the Dutch fort, trading-house, and settlement.

In 1635, or according to other accounts, in the month of October, 1633, a Mr. William Holmes, from the colony of Plymouth, in the state of Massachusetts, erected a trading-house on Connecticut river, at Windsor, eight or ten miles north of the city of Hartford.

Cotton Mather says, "the fame of the rich lands along Connecticut river, had reached the ears of the inhabitants of the infant colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, and had excited high expectations among them."

The house built by Mr. Holmes, in 1633, was a store house, designed for traffic with the natives. At first, the Dutch and English traders entered, and ascended the same rivers, and trafficked with the natives, as best suited their convenience and interest.

The individuals of both nations, engaged in the traffic with the natives, soon quarrelled. Those of each nation, claimed the country under grants, from their respective sovereigns.

The Dutch, on the 25th of October, in the same year, made a formal protest, by which they required that Holmes should depart from the river: but he paid no attention to the protest.

In 1636, Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield, in the state of Connecticut, and Springfield in the state of Massachusetts, were settled by colonies from Massachusetts bay. They appear to have been led to this on account of the richness of the lands.

Cotton Mather says, "the fame of Connecticut river, and the rich lands along its banks, excited high expectations among some of the first settlers of Massachusetts bay. Accordingly, many of the planters belonging especially to the towns of Cambridge, Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury, took up resolution to travel one hundred miles westwardly from those towns, for a further settlement upon the lands bordering this famous river."

The favorable accounts of these lands were derived from Holmes, and others in his employ. It was in the year 1635, and probably the same year in which he erected a storehouse at Windsor, that this design was first formed.

The chief promoter, and the person who gave the most live and vigor to this enterprise, was the Rev. Thomas Hooker of Cambridge, who afterwards prevailed upon most of his congregation to accompany him. Previous, however, to their removal, they sent several persons to explore the country. These soon returned with very flattering accounts, of the richness and beauty of the lands.

In the month of June 1636, the planters who had engaged to emigrate, removed thither.

Those from Cambridge, settled on the spot of ground where the city of Hartford now stands, and in the immediate vicinity of the Dutch fort, trading house, and village of Good Hope. Those from Dorchester, settled at Windsor, eight or ten miles north of Good Hope, or Hartford. Those from Watertown, settled at Weathersfield, about eight miles south of Hartford, or Good Hope. And those from Roxbury, settled at Sprignfield in Massachusetts, about twenty-four miles north of Good Hope.

Dr. Mather, in his Magnalia says, "In the month of June 1636, Mr. Hooker set out for the delightful banks of Connecticut river, with about one hundred persons. They were nearly two weeks on their journey, and travelled about ten miles a day. They had no covering but the canopy of heaven."

At that time, the whole space between Massachusetts bay, and Connecticut river, was one wide forest, overspread with trees. No road lay across it, to mark out the course for these pilgrims; no cultivated fields; no smiling crops; no villages; no places of entertainment intervened to relieve the eye, cheer the mind, or administer to their wants. The whole was a trackless waste: on every side, the prospect was bounded by close woods, which were intersected by swamps, marshes, and streams. But the planters were not at all detered by so many obstacles; but cheerfully surmounted them.

There were now two Dutch settlements, and five English settlements on Connecticut river.

The numbers at Weathersfield, Hartford, Windsor, and Springfield, were sufficient for a small congregation at each place. The early Dutch, and English colonies, lived in villages enclosed with palisadoes, or large posts set in the ground, side by side, rising ten or twelve feet, and sharpened at the tops. One or more gates were to these enclosures. Sometimes ditches were drawn around them. In the interior, one or more block houses were erected, as places of resort for the old men, the women, and children, in cases of attacks from the natives. In these houses, the armour and magazines were kept. Some were on duty by night and by day. The lands around the villages were cultivated in common, and owned in common. The produce of the earth was gathered in common, and stored in common, from whence it was dealt out to the different members of these small communities.

Among the English settlements on the banks of Connecticut river, Hartford seems to have taken the lead, and to have ranked first. Each band of emigrants was accompanied by a clergyman, who settled with them. The clergy had great influence in those infant settlements, and did much towards establishing them upon solid foundations.

"In the winter after their arrival, a famine ensued; which well nigh proved fatal to them. This was occasioned by the early freezing of Connecticut river, whereby their ship with provisions was detained at its mouth. Divers of them were hereby obliged in the depth of winter, to travel back to Massachusetts bay, in order to procure subsistence." Cotton Mather.

In 1637, Mrs. Davenport, and Eaton, removed from Massachusetts bay, with a considerable body of planters, to a small bay on Long Island Sound, about twenty-six miles west of the mouth of Connecticut river, and founded a town, which they called New Haven. The bay, and its vicinity, was called by the natives Quinnipiack. A clan of Indians called Quinnipiacks, dwelt around the bay, and in the adjacent parts. The first settlers of New Haven, being joined shortly afterwards by more of their countrymen, founded the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Brainford.

Stamford is about thirty-five miles west-south-west of New Haven. The other towns are in its neighborhood.

The planters at each settlement had a minister; from this circumstance, we conclude that the numbers must have been considerable.

We have already mentioned, that a colony of Swedes and Fins, landed in the year 1627 at cape Henlopen, and made settlements on both sides of Delaware bay, in the states of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. This occasioned new troubles to the Dutch. William Kieft, who had succeeded Wouter Van Twiller, wrote to Peter Minuit, who appears to have been the Swedish governor in those parts, and informed him, that the Dutch claimed the country around Delaware bay, and along Delaware river. He concluded by protesting against the encroachments made by the Swedes, and threatening to reduce them, unless the inhabitant submitted to the States General of the Netherlands.

During the administration of Wouter Van Twiller, the New England planters extended their settlements westwardly to Connecticut river. Jacob Van Curlet the commissary, in the name of the States General, and of the governor of the New Netherlands, protested against the encroachments, and claimed the country as belonging to the Dutch. But the English planters paid no attention to his protests.

CHAPTER XII.

William Kieft, in 1637, succeeds Wouter Van Twiller in the government of the New Netherlands.—Encroachments of the colonists of New England on the Dutch possessions on Connecticut river.—War between the New England colonists and the Pequods.—Conquest and dispersion of the Pequods.—Governor Kieft issues a prohibition against the English.—Some of the English colonists in 1640 pass over the Sound and form settlements on Long Island.—The condition of Long Island.—Of the interfering claims of the English and Dutch.—Settlement of the Island.—The order in which the several towns on the Island were settled.—Trade.—Character of the English settlers.—Of the civil and political condition of the English towns before the surrender in 1664.—Union of the English towns with Connecticut.—Ecclesiastical state of the towns on the island.—The Dutch compel the English to withdraw from the Schuylkill.—Disputes between the Dutch and English planters on Connecticut river.—Correspondence between governor Kieft and the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, &c.

In the year 1637 William Kieft succeeded Wouter Van Twiller in the government of the New Netherlands.

The English planters had hardly established themselves on Connecticut river, before they became embroiled in a war with the Pequods, a warlike people who dwelt on the river Thames and its branches. It is in vain to search into the origin of this war. Like most other matters concerning the transactions of the early settlers, it is involved in much obscurity. The only accounts which we have, are found in Hubbard's history of the Indian war, and Mather's Magnalia. These authors saw every thing on one side, and little or nothing on the other. The Pequods, according to these authors, were the aggressors, while their conquerors acted with perfect rectitude.

We shall commence by giving an extract from Mather, which he has prefaced to his narrative of this war.

"Two colonies of churches being brought forth, and a third conceived within the bounds of New England, by the year 1636, it was time for the devil to take the alarm, and make some attempt in opposition to the possession which the Lord Jesus Christ was going to have of the utmost parts of the earth. These parts were then covered with nations of barbarous Indians and infidels, in whom the prince of the air did work as a spirit; nor could it be expected that nations of wretches whose whole religion was the most explicit sort of devil worship, should not be acted by the devil to engage in some early and bloody action for the extinction of a plantation so contrary to his interests as that of New England."

In the year 1634 a Captain Stone, and a Captain Norton, with six men, were killed in the river Thames by the Pequods. Shortly after a Mr. Oldham was killed on the borders of the country of the Pequods by some Narragansetts. The planters of Massachusetts bay required that the murderers should be given up, and reparation made. These requisitions could not easily be carried into effect. The leading men among them had no power to enforce a law, or deprive an individual of his liberty. Every one did as he pleased; obedience was voluntary. The chief men of the Pequods, however, had a meeting, where it was determined to send a deputation to Massachusetts bay, with gifts to the English, to deprecate the evils which hung over their country. To this end, a deputation consisting of upwards of twenty persons went to Massachusetts towards the end of the year; but on their arrival they were dismissed without an answer. Upon their return a second deputation was dispatched thither, with much wampum and beaver. The presents had, in part, the desired effect. The governor and council condescended to receive and give audience to the deputies. Several conferences were had. In these the deputies alleged that Captain Stone, and the others, had been killed in a quarrel with some of their people, and that Norton had been blown up by powder in the vessel, which had accidentally caught fire. They farther alleged that Stone and his men were the aggressors.* This relation has

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* See Hubbard and Mather.

every appearance of being true. Stone and his men had ascended the Thames, a river in the country of the Pequods, in a bark to traffic. A dispute arose, in which it is probable that Stone used violence, when a contest ensued, in which he and his men were slain. Whether any of the Pequods fell or not we are uninformed; but when we take into consideration that these traders were well armed, we can hardly believe that they could have been overcome without considerable loss to the enemy. How far the Pequods, or traders were justifiable, or whether either party were justifiable, cannot be ascertained at this day. The taking of life is not authorized by natural or divine law, unless it be in self-defence.

After divers conferences, which lasted for many days, peace and friendship were concluded upon these conditions—

First. "That the Pequods should deliver up to the English those persons amongst them that were guilty of Stone's death, and the rest that were with him."

Second. "That if the English desired to plant in Connecticut, the Pequods should give up their right to them."

Third. "That the English should henceforth trade with them as their friends."—Hubbard.

The second article of this treaty does not appear reasonable, or even probable. The Pequods had ideas of property; they claimed title, and exercised the same kind of jurisdiction over the lands within their territory, which other hunting nations of America did. Now is it to be credited, that a people possessed of these ideas should give up their lands to strangers, without any equivalent? We say not.

"The deputies besought the English to use their best offices with the Narragansetts, their neighbors, with whom they were then at war, and to mediate a peace for them.

"The proffered mediation having been accepted, and peace being concluded between the English and Pequods, the deputies returned home to their country.

"The planters of Massachusetts not long after sent a barque thither for trade; but they found that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, inasmuch as they took up a resolution never more to have to do with them."*

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* See Hubbard and Mather.

From this circumstance it is obvious that the Pequods had, in their intercourse with the Dutch and English, acquired information in relation to the value of commodities offered them, which rendered the gains of the adventurers too small to be objects worth seeking after.

The Indians, in their early intercourse with the Dutch and English, were altogether ignorant of the value of such things as were offered to them in exchange for furs, &c. Hence they paid enormous prices for small articles which had little or no intrinsic value. The hand or foot was a pound, and this might be depressed according to the consciences of the traders. In some instances the hand or foot weighed one hundred pounds. The Dutch traders at Orange, (Albany,) and Schenectady, at a very early period, introduced the hand or foot, as might best suit their interest, for a standard weight in the purchase of furs, &c. The English traders did the same. The practice continued a long time at Albany and Schenectady after the surrender in 1664. Such weights were very convenient to the traders.

In 1636, when the planters from Massachusetts began to settle at Good Hope, now Hartford, and other places on Connecticut river, the Pequods surprised several persons, some of whom they killed. In April, 1637, nine men were slain about Weathersfield. The whole number that fell in the different settlements on the river, were about thirty. Besides these they put some captives to death. These hostile acts excited great fears, and no small degree of indignation. The communication between Hartford and the other plantations on Connecticut river, was greatly obstructed by the enemies small parties.

We have before remarked, that the agent of Lords Say and Brook had erected a small fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, in the year 1635, in the vicinity of the Dutch fort. A lieutenant Gardner was stationed there with about twenty men. All the winter of 1636 the garrison was beset by the Pequods. Several attacks were made on parties who occasionally went out, and two or three men were killed.

The governor and council of Massachusetts, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1636, sent a Captain Endicott, with eighty or ninety

men, or, according to another account, with one hundred and twenty, to the country of the Pequods, with commission to demand the murderers of Captain Stone, and his companions. Endicott proceeded by water, and upon his arrival dispatched an interpreter to them, with a message to demand the persons who had perpetrated the murders, but they refused to give them up; whereupon a skirmish ensued, in which, after the death of one of their men, the Pequods fled. Endicott pursued them, and destroyed their habitations and corn, and then retired.

Aware of the storm that was gathering, the Pequods deputed messengers to the Narragansetts, with whom they were then at war, with offers of peace. The messengers proposed to that people a union, and confederation of all the Indian tribes in those parts against the English. Several conferences were had between them. In these conferences the messengers of the Pequods told the Narragansetts that the English were strangers, and that they had began to overspread the country, which would soon be possessed by them, to the depriving of the ancient inhabitants of their right, if they were not timely prevented; and that the Narragansetts would but make way for their own ruin by helping to destroy the Pequods, who were members of the same nation, although under a distinct government; for, after themselves were subdued, it would not be long before the Narragansetts themselves would, in the next place, be rooted out likewise; that now was the time for the widely extended tribes of the Moheakanneews to unite against the English; that they might easily destroy them, or force them to leave the country. Such were the reasonings and proffers of this politic people. They appear to have been the only people at this early period who foresaw the extirpation and ruin of the ancient inhabitants. With them a union of the Moheakanneews was the great desideratum, since by it the strangers might be expelled the country. But the Narragansetts, like other savages, refused to come into the measure, or even to make peace. Stimulated with revenge, they concluded that this would be a favorable occasion to to gratify it, and ingratiate themselves into the favors of the people of Massachusetts; they, therefore, deputed an embassy to the English. Miantonimo, one of the chief men at this time among them, was placed at the head of the

embassy. On arriving at Massachusetts bay, he informed the governor and council of the propositions which the Pequods had made to them, of a union and confederation of all the Moheakanneew states, in order to drive the English out of the country. A compact or treaty was concluded between the English and Narragansetts, which was of infinite advantage to the planters. The contracting powers bound themselves not to make peace with the Pequods, except by mutual consent, not to harbor any of the Pequods; to put to death, or deliver up, any of the murderers of the English; to return fugitives. The planters of Plymouth and Massachusetts were to give the Narragansetts notice when they went out to the war against the Pequods, in order that the latter might furnish guides, and send their warriors. The Narragansetts agreed not to come near the English plantations during the war, without first obtaining the planters permission.

About this time the colonies of Massachusetts bay, Plymouth, and Hartford, entered into a confederacy in order to resist the Indians in case they should combine, and in order to strengthen their positions on the American continent. The immediate object, however, was the war against the Pequods. Massachusetts furnished one hundred and sixty men, Plymouth fifty, and Hartford ninety. The campaign was opened early in the spring. Captain Stoughton commanded the united forces of the colonies. Forty men were sent from Massachusetts to Hartford, under Captain Patrick, before hostilities were began. On the tenth of May Captain Mason, with ninety men, and a party of Mohegans, who acted as auxiliaries, sailed from Saybrook, for the state of the Pequods. Forty of the Mohegans were to proceed by land. Before the latter, however, set out, they went out, and falling in with seven Pequods and Nebanticks, they killed five and took one a prisoner, whom they brought into fort Saybrook, where he was barbarously murdered by Captain Underhill, the commander. No excuse is offered by either Hubbard or Mather for this act.

Mason, instead of landing in the state of the Pequods, proceeded to the country of the Narragansetts, where he debarked his men. Here he was joined by Miantonimo, the chief of the Narragansetts, with two hundred warriors, as some say, or five hundred, as others

say. The whole force under Mason now amounted to three hundred and fifty men, according to the lowest account, and six hundred and fifty according to the highest. With this force he began his march for the principal castle of the Pequods. The Moheakanneew and Huron tribes had castles in their chief settlements, to which the men, women, and children retired on particular emergencies. In time of war, when the warriors were out on expeditions, it was customary for the old men, women, and children, to repair to these places in order to guard against surprise of the enemy.

Captain John Smith speaks of castles or enclosures. He visited one of these on the east side of Chesapeake bay, not far from the mouth of the Susquehanna. It belonged to the Tockwhoghs, as he calls them, (probably a band of the Nanticokes). It was filled with men, women, and children. A party of the Massawomecks had been foiled in an attempt to take it a day or two before.

The Pequods at the time of the invasion, had several castles. The principal one was about twenty-one miles distant from the place of debarkation. Mason began his march, and proceeded the first day about eight miles, and then encamped for the night. About two hours before day, he resumed his march, and came in sight of the castle, about the time it began to grow light.

Finding that the Pequods were asleep, and unapprised of his approach, Mason divided his men into several parties, and gave orders to attack the castle on all sides, at one and the same time. The castle, according to the account, consisted of a small space of ground, enclosed with stakes driven into the earth.

A considerable body of the Pequods were encamped in it, with their women and children. Sassacus, the chief of the tribe was there. Every thing being arranged, and adjusted, Mason gave the signal for the assault. The several parties rushed forward, and reached the defences before they were discovered. These they easily passed, and entered the enclosure with loud shouts. The enemy being surprised, and confounded, ran to and fro in order to make their escape: but they were every where met, and driven back. An indiscriminate slaughter was commenced, and of six hundred individuals, only five or six escaped. Among these, was

Sassacus the commander. Mason had but two men killed, and sixteen wounded. Immediately after the capture of the fortress, and the butchering of the Pequods, Mason retired to the borders of the ocean near by, and re-embarked his men.

A few days after, Captain Stoughton arrived with the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces. Mason joined him with his men, and the Narragansetts. Shortly after this, word was brought to Captain Stoughton, by some of the Narragansetts, that a band of their warriors had surrounded a large number of the Pequods. Upon the reception of this intelligence, Stoughton set out forthwith for that place with all his men. On reaching it, the enemy amounting to several hundred, surrendered. The men, Captain Stoughton inhumanly put to death: but he spared the women and children. The following account which we copy, is given by Mr. Hubbard, in his narrative of the Indian wars of New England. Cotton Mather, in his magnalia, gives the same account. "The men were turned prisoners into Charon's ferry boat, under the command of Skipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbor: the females and children were disposed of according to the will of the conquerors."

Opposition to the progress of the colonists now ceased. The country of the Pequods was traversed by small parties of the colonists, and Narragansetts, and devastated. Most of the warriors had been killed in the preceding affairs. The wretched remains of the tribe dispersed and fled. Some sought refuge in the woods, while others betook themselves to the Mohiccons, and other Indians, living westwardly of Connecticut river. Sassacus their chief, with twenty or thirty men, retired beyond the mountains to the Mohawks.

Cotton Mather calls the Mohawks "a fierce generation of men eaters."

Captain Stoughton detached parties in all directions, in search of the flying Pequods. Captain Patrick, who commanded one of these, consisting of about one hundred men, proceeded westwardly as far as where Fairfield in Connecticut, now stands. Here he discovered a considerable number in a swamp, with some other fugitive Indians. These he either killed, or took prisoners, little or

no resistance being made. Most of the males he slaughtered, or disposed of as slaves, while the females were divided between the planters, and their allies.

The few stragglers who yet remained, were hunted like wild beasts, and taken and put to death. or sold without pity or remorse. Few wars were ever carried on with more deadly animosity. It was a war of extermination.

The affair at the swamp in Fairfield, Mr. Hubbard in his overheated zeal, calls "the slaughter at the swamp." The Pequods were mostly butchered after they had surrendered.

On the termination of the war with the Pequods, the planters of Connecticut enjoyed a long repose. The horrors of this war, and its successful issue, inspired the natives with fear and respect for the English,

The English colonists on Connecticut river, still continued to encroach upon the Dutch. New adventurers were annually arriving from Plymouth, and Massachusetts. The settlements were extended on every side.

In 1638, Governor Kieft caused a prohibition to be issued, forbiding the English to trade at Good Hope. Shortly after, on complaint of the insolence of the English, an order of council was made, for sending more forces there to maintain the Dutch territories. But the weakness of the New Netherlands, prevented him from carrying the order into effect.

Soon after the English had planted themselves at New Haven, Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Brainford, some of the planters passed over to those parts of Long Island, which are adjacent, and seated themselves there.

In 1640, the Rev. Abraham Pierson, of Lynn in Massachusetts, removed with nearly one hundred families, to the west end of Long Island; but the Dutch gave him so much disturbance, that he was obliged to retire to Southampton, towards the east end of the island. This town adjoins the other places settled from New Haven, and the contiguous towns. With respect to the place where Pierson with his colony settled, there is some uncertainty. Mather says, it was at the west end of the Island. In Smith's history, we find the following passage, which leads us to think that it

must have been at Oyster bay, in the north-easterly part of Queen's county.

"In 1640," he says, "the English who had overspread the eastern part of Long Island, advanced to Oyster bay." "Kieft broke up their settlement in 1642, and fitted out two sloops to drive the English out of Schuykill, of which the Marylanders had lately possessed themselves."

The following extracts are taken from a Sketch of the first settlement of Long-Island, by the Hon. Silas Wood.

The state of the Country.

At the time of the first settlement of Long-Island, it appears that the western part of it, if not the whole, was in a great measure bare of timber.

The Indians here, as every where else where they were settled, annually burnt over the woods, in order to clear the lands, to provide food for the deer, and other game.

There are numerous facts to prove, that, at the time of the first settlement of the island, the woods were destitute of underbrush, and that the large trees were so scarce that it was deemed necessary to take measures for their preservation.

The first settlers in every town commenced their improvements without any previous clearing. They generally enclosed large tracts of land by a common fence, for planting, and also for pasturing such part of their stock as they did not wish to run at large. In 1646 the people of the town of Gravesend, by a vote at the first town meeting held in the town, ordered every inhabitant to make twenty poles of fence to enclose a common field for corn; and in 1648, voted in like manner to make a common pasture for their calves.

Similar regulations were made in Newtown, in Hempstead, in Huntington, and probably in most, if not all the towns on the island. In 1654 the town of Southold passed a resolution that no person should cut trees or sell wood from their common lands, for pipe staves, or heading, or other purposes, to any person not being a

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, p. 3.

townsman, "without the town's liberty." In 1659 the town of Huntington, by a vote of town meeting, resolved, that no timber should be cut for sale within three miles of the settlement, under the penalty of five shillings for every tree. In 1660 they made an exception of oak timber, for pipe staves; but in 1668 the magistrates, after stating their apprehensions that the town was in danger of being ruined by the destruction of its timber, ordered that no timber should be cut, for transportation, within three miles of the settlement, under the penalty of five shillings for every tree; and forbid strangers cutting any timber within the limits of the town, under the like penalty.

In 1660 the town of Oysterbay passed a similar resolution.

In 1664 the town of Southampton voted that no timber should be made into pipe staves, to be carried out of the town, under the penalty of twenty shillings a tree.

In 1668 the town of Newtown voted that no one should carry any timber to the water side for transportation, under the penalty of ten shillings a load.

The trees in the woods were so thin and sparse that they abounded with feed, and the settlers depended on them for pasture, for such cattle as were not needed for domestic purposes.

By neglecting the Indian practice of annual burnings, in a few years young timber and underbrush increased so as to injure the feed in the woods.

It appears that the pine plains were also at the time of the first settlement of the island, in a great measure unincumbered with underbrush.

This state of the country was of immense advantage to the first settlers. Had they been obliged to encounter thick forests of large timber, and to wait the tardy returns of heavy clearings, the first emigrants would probably have perished by famine. The openness of the country—the quantity of land left unoccupied by the sparseness of the Indian population, and the rapid growth and nutritive quality of the corn found among the Indians, contributed essentially to the preservation, growth, and prosperity, of the first settlers on Long-Island.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 4 & 5.

Of the interfering claims of the English and the Dutch to Long-Island.

The English and the Dutch both claimed Long-Island, on the ground of prior discovery.

In 1607 the London company commenced a settlement in Virginia.

In 1609 the king granted a separate patent to the first company, extending from Point Comfort two hundred miles each way, and in length from sea to sea.

In 1620 the same king granted a separate patent to the second company, by the name of "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in America," for all that part of the continent lying between forty and forty-eight degrees of north latitude, and extending from sea to sea. In virtue of this charter, which is usually called the New England patent, the council of Plymouth issued all the subordinate patents of the several colonies which were granted before it was surrendered to the crown, to wit: the Plymouth patent in 1623, that of Massachusetts in 1628, and that of Connecticut, 1631.

The same company, by order of Charles the first, on the twenty-second of April, in the eleventh year of his reign, issued letters patent to William, Earl of Stirling, "Secretary of the kingdom of Scotland," for the whole of Long-Island.

April 20, in the twelfth year of Charles I. the Earl of Stirling executed a power of attorney to James Farret, to sell and dispose of lands on the island, and the earliest purchases made by the English on the island, were made or confirmed by authority derived from him.

The first purchase of the Indians on Long-Island, that has been discovered, was in 1635, and the earliest deed for land to individuals, is a patent from governor Van Twiller, to Andries Hedden, and Wolphert Garitsen, for a tract of land in Amersfort, or Flatlands, bearing date of sixth June, 1636.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 5, 6, & 7.

In 1643, governor Kieft states that the Dutch settlements, at that time, only extended ten miles east and west, and seven miles north and south.

Of the settlement of the Island.

Both powers endeavored to strengthen their respective claims to the island, by extending their settlements there.

The two extremities of the island were first settled; the west end under the Dutch, and the east end under the English.

The several settlements under the two powers were nearly cotemporary, and were all commenced within the compass of forty years.

Both the Dutch and English territories on Long-Island were settled by villages or towns, nor was there any combination of these into counties before the conquest of the English in 1664.

The extent of the towns in the English territory, and of the English towns in the Dutch territory, was regulated by the extent of their Indian purchases. The extent of the Dutch towns was probably regulated by the extent of their grants from the governor.

In the Dutch towns it seems that the lands were generally purchased by the governor, and were by him granted to individuals. In the English towns in the Dutch territory, the lands were generally purchased of the natives by the settlers, with the consent of the Dutch governor; and in the towns under the English, the lands were purchased of the natives by the settlers, originally with the consent of the agent of the Earl of Stirling; and, after his death, the purchases of the Indians were made by the people of the several towns for their common benefit.

In cases of grants to companies by the Dutch governor, the lands were divided by lot; and in all cases of purchase, the rights of individuals were deemed to be in proportion to their contribution to the purchase, or to the patent by which it was confirmed.

A single family of French protestants seems to have settled on the island in the vicinity of New-York, as early as 1625.

In 1641 the Dutch governor and council, in order to strengthen

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 7, 8, 9, & 10,

their claim to the island, consented that the English should settle there under their jurisdiction, on taking the oath of allegiance to the States' General, and the Dutch West India company.

The town of Gravesend, in Kings county, and the several towns of Hempstead, Flushing, Jamaica, and Newtown, in Queens county, were originally settled by Englishmen on these conditions. The other towns in Kings county were settled by the Dutch, and all the other towns on the island were settled under the English.

The first settlement under the English was made by Lyon Gardiner, on Gardiner's Island, in 1639, under a purchase made by him of the natives, which was confirmed by James Farret, agent of the Earl of Stirling, in 1640.

In October, 1640, the people of Southold commenced a settlement on a tract of land which had been purchased of the natives by the government of New-Haven.

In May, 1640, the English attempted to make a settlement on a tract of land on the east side of Great Neck, or on the west side of Cow Neck, in the town of North Hempstead, on the north side of the island, which had been purchased of the natives by Daniel How, under an agreement with the agent of the Earl of Stirling; but were prevented by Kieft, the Dutch governor, and the settlers removed to Southampton, purchased a tract of land of the natives, and commenced a settlement there in December, 1640, which was the foundation of that town.

Of the order in which the several towns on the Island were settl

The time of the settlement of the English towns, is to be coll ed from the dates of their respective purchases of the natives, that of the Dutch towns from the grants of the governor, or m the original records of their respective proceedings. From se it appears that the first settlement of the several towns on the and was commenced at or near the time, and in the order followig:

Brooklyn - - - -	163
Flatlands, originally Amersfort - -	1636
Gardiner's Island - - -	163
Southold - - - -	1

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 9, 10, & 13.

Southampton	1640[*]
Hempstead	1644
Gravesend	1645
Flushing, originally Vlusshingen	1645
East Hampton	1648
Flatbush, originally Midwout	1651
Shelter Island	1652
Huntington	1653
Oysterbay	1653
Brookhaven	1655
Newtown, originally Middleburgh	1655
Jamaica, originally Rutsdorpe	1656
New Utrecht	1657
Bushwick	1660
Smithtown	1663
Islip	1666[†]

The lands in the several towns in Kings county were purchased by the Dutch governor, or with his consent, and it is presumed wholly of the Canarse tribe of Indians.

Jamaica was purchased of the Canarse and Rockaway tribes.

Newtown was principally purchased of the Rockaway Indians.

Flushing was purchased by the Dutch governor, it is believed of the Matinecoc tribe of Indians.

Oysterbay was purchased of the Matinecocs.

Hempstead was purchased of the Rockaway, Merikoke, and Marsapeague tribes.

Huntington was purchased of the Matinecoc, Marsapeague, and cataug tribe.

Smithtown was, by the Montauk sachem, Wyandance, given to

Although a few settlements were first made by individuals in the Dth territories, it was some years before the number was sufficient to reqre any political organization. Brooklyn, the largest of the Dutch villaes, did not choose regular magistrates till 1646, though some kind of authority was established there before.

[†] Some confusion exists in the dates of this period, and an event may pe taken place a year before, or a year after it is stated to have hap- but the error in time can rarely exceed a year.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 13 & 14.

Lyon Gardiner, who sold it to Richard Smith, to whom it was confirmed by the Nissaquague sachem.

Brookhaven was purchased of the Satauket and Patchogue tribes.

Southold was purchased of the Corchaugs.

Islip was purchased of the Secataugs.

Southampton was purchased of the Shinecoc tribe.

Easthampton was purchased of the Shinecoc, Corchaug, Manhasset, and Montauk tribes.

Shelter Island was purchased of the Manhasset tribe.

Of Trade.

On the first settlement of the island the surplus produce was wanted by the new settlers; during this period they had little trade but among themselves, money was very scarce, contracts were made in produce, and business was carried on by barter and exchanges; contracts for the sale of land, as well as others, were made in produce.

In 1658 the town of Hempstead agreed to pay the herdsmen who attended their cattle, twenty shillings sterling a week, payable in butter, wheat, corn, and oats, at stipulated prices.

In 1659 the same town allowed six bushels of corn for killing a wolf.

In 1659 the town of Easthampton agreed to give Thomas James, their Minister, £ 60 a year, "in such pay as men raise, as it passes from man to man."

In 1663 the town of Jamaica contracted with Zachariah Walker, their Minister, to give him £ 60 a year, payable in wheat and corn, at fixed prices.

In 1664 the town of Gravesend contracted to give a man and his assistant six hundred guilders to guard their cattle that run at large during the summer season, to be paid in "bacon and corn."

In 1670 the people of Newtown agreed to give forty shillings a piece towards erecting a meeting-house, to be paid " half in corn, and half in cattle."

In 1686 the town of Huntington contracted with a carpenter to

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 14, & 15.

make an addition to their meeting-house, to be paid in produce, at stipulated prices.

In 1680 the town of Southampton agreed to give Joseph Taylor, their Minister, the use of the parsonage, four acres in their ox pasture, one-fiftieth in the commonage, and one hundred acres woods. Also a yearly salary of one hundred pounds, payable in winter wheat at five shillings a bushel, summer wheat four shillings a bushel, Indian corn at two shillings and sixpence a bushel, tallow at sixpence per pound, green hides at threepence, dry hides at sixpence per pound, beef at forty shillings the barrel, pork at three pounds ten shillings the barrel, or three pence the pound, and oil at thirty shillings the barrel; to be collected by the constable and overseers, or by men to be appointed by them.

In 1682 the town of Hempstead agreed to give Jeremiah Hobart, their Minister, the use of the parsonage and three or four acres of land, the use of the common for his cattle, and to give him one hundred acres of land where he chose to take it up, and a yearly salary of sixty-six pounds fourteen shillings, payable in corn and cattle.

Debts were discharged, executions satisfied, and rates paid in produce. The rate at which produce was taken in payment of debts, was the price which the merchants gave for the like articles at the time.

In 1654 the magistrates of Easthampton ordered that the town rates should be paid in wheat at four shillings and sixpence per bushel, and Indian corn at three shillings and sixpence.

In 1665 the town court of Jamaica, in an action of trespass, gave judgment in favor of the plaintiff for twelve bushels and an half of wheat for his damages.

In 1679 the town court of Huntington gave judgment that the defendant should pay the debt demanded, in "good merchantable pay, at the current price."

In 1680 the same court gave judgment for the debt, and the constable sold a house and lot on execution, for ten pounds ten shillings, to be paid "in merchantable pay, at the current price."

Executions, issuing out of the court of sessions, were also levied

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 15. & 16.

in produce, but it was appraised by indifferent men chosen by the parties, or appointed by the sheriff, when it was delivered to the plaintiff in satisfaction of his judgment.

The prices of produce receivable for county rates, were generally fixed by the governor and court of assize, but were sometimes submitted to the court of sessions, subject to the revision and approbation of the governor.

In 1665 the assessors of the several towns were ordered by law to estimate stock at the following rates:

A horse or mare, 4 years old, and upward	£ 12	0	0
Do do 3 and 4	8	0	0
Do do 2 and 3	4	0	0
Do do 1 and 2	3	0	0
An ox or bull, four years old, and upward	6	0	0
A cow four years old, and upward	5	0	0
A steer and heifer between 3 and 4	4	0	0
Do do 2 and 3	2	10	0
Do do 1 and 2	1	10	0
A goat, one year old	0	8	0
A sheep, do	0	6	8
A swine, do	1	0	0

In 1679, the prices fixed at which produce should be received for county rates were as follows:

Pork	£ 0	0	3	per pound.
Beef	0	0	2	do.
Winter wheat	0	4	0	per bushel.
Summer do.	0	3	6	do.
Rye,	0	2	6	do.
Indian corn	0	2	3	do.
Oil	1	10	0	per barrel.

In 1687, the prices of produce receivable for taxes were as follows:

Pork	£ 3	10	0	per barrel,	or 3d per lb.
Beef	1	10	0	do	2d.
Wheat	0	5	0	per bushel.	
Indian corn	0	2	6	do.	
Tallow	0	0	6	per lb.	

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 16.

Dry hides	0	0	4	do.
Green	0	0	2	do.

Contract prices of various articles, from 1655 to 1687.

Pork	£0	0	3	lb.
Beef	0	0	2	do.
Wheat, from	0	4	0	per bushel, to 5*s*.
Rye	0	3	6	do.
Corn	0	2	6	do.
Oats	0	2	0	do.
Butter	0	0	6	lb.
Tallow	0	0	6	do.
Hogs fat	0	0	6	do.
Board	0	5	0	per week.
Victuals	0	0	6	per meal.
Lodging	0	0	2	per night.
Beer	0	0	2	per mug.
Pasture	0	1	0	for a day and night.
Labour	0	2	6	per day.

The practice of paying in produce continued until about the year 1700; when trade had rendered money plenty, and introduced it into general circulation.

Of the Character of the first Settlers in the several English towns on Long Island.

The English towns on the Island, both on the Dutch and English territories, were settled by companies of individuals, the most of whom, had first landed in some part of New England; but had remained there only a short time, little longer in some instances, than was necessary to select a proper place for a permanent residence, and to form themselves into associations, adequate to the commencement of new settlements.

The first settlers of Southold, remained a short time at New Haven. Those of Southampton, and Easthampton, were some time at Lynn. The people of Hempstead had made a short stay,

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, p. 17.

first at Weathersfield, and again at Stamford, before they fixed themselves in those respective towns.

The first settlers of Easthampton, came from Maidstone, in Kent. The first settlers of Southampton, and of Hempstead, were probably the most of them from Yorkshire; and the first settlers of most of the other towns, seem to have been collections, composed of individual from almost every part of England.

These companies, in most of the towns, consisted at first of only a few families.

The first settlement of Easthampton, was commenced by nine families; of Southampton, by fourteen; of Huntington, by eleven; and of Oysterbay, by ten; but in all these cases, the company in advance, was immediately followed by others, and the settlements increased by the constant accession of new comers.

Many of the first settlers in the several towns on the Island, were well educated, and sensible men—they had sustained a good standing in society, and left reputable connections in England.

The early records, and public documents of the several towns, evince that the leading men among them, had a correct knowledge of the laws, and constitution of England, and were well acquainted with public business.

They left England during the turbulent times, in the reign of

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* In 1657, in Southampton there were 75 who bore arms in the Militia; and drew powder from the magazine, on an alarm created by the hostile acts of the Montauk Indians.

In 1659, in Hempstead there were 62 heads of families who contracted with the herdsmen to attend their cattle.

In 1684, in Huntington there was 84 enrolled on the assessment list, the chief of whom, probably were heads of families.

In 1680, in Oyster bay there were 41 freeholders, who shared in the second division of the lands in that town.

September 17th, 1673, the number required to take the oath of allegiance to the newly established Dutch Government under Anthony Colve, was as follows:

Jamaica 68, Flushing 67, Brooklyn 81, Fletlands 48, Flatbush 78, Utrecht 41, Gravesend 31, Bushwick 35, Newtown 99, Hempstead 107.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, p. 18.

Charles the first; when both civil and religious libirty, were prostrated by the illegal and tyrannical extension of the royal prerogative, and by the intolerence of the established church, supported the one by the star chamber, and the other by the high commissioned court, before the abolition of these engines of arbitrary power.

They fled from tyranny and oppression, and were ardently devoted to the cause of civil liberty, and zealous for the purity and simplicity of the Protestant religion—they were zealous of their rights, and resolute in their defence.

Of the Civil and Political condition of the several towns in the English Territory, before the conquest.

The several towns in the English territory, were not under the control of any colonial government, nor had they any political connection with each other. Being too remote from the mother country, to derive any aid from thence, and without connections here, the whole powers of government devolved on the inhabitants of each town. Self-preservation rendered it absolutely necessary, that they should assume the exercise of these powers, until a change in their condition should supercede the necessity of it.

Thus, each town at its first settlement was a pure democracy, the people of each town exercised the sovereign power. All questions were determined by the voice of the major part of the people, assembled in town meeting. In this manner they formed such laws and regulations, as they judged necessary for the security, peace and prosperity of their infant settlements.

The people of Southampton, previous to their settlement, entered into a social contract with each other, to be governed by such laws, and orders, as should be made by the vote of the major part of the inhabitants; and to support, and maintain the authority of the magistrates, in executing such laws, and orders, as should be in force among them.

The greater part of their laws, resolutions, and orders, were

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Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 18, & 19.

framed by themselves, in their respective town meetings—they comprised such provisions as were required by their peculiar situation, and such as are necessary to the well being of every society.

The first class of acts, relate to the division of their lands—the enclosure of common fields for cultivation and pasture—to regulations respecting fences, highways, and watering places—respecting cattle, sheep, and horses, that run at large, and in the common fields; and respecting the destruction of wild beasts.

The second class of acts made provision for the public defence—for the collection of taxes—for the education of youth—for the preservation of good morals—for the support of religion; and for the suppression and punishment of crimes, and offences.

One of the first measures adopted in every town, was to require every man to provide himself with arms and amunition; and to assemble at an appointed place, when warned, under a penalty, for neglect in any of these respects.

In several of the towns, the first settlers erected a small fort, or block house, for their security. These precautions were probably taken to guard against the Dutch, as well as the Indians, at least in the western towns.

The men capable of bearing arms in every town, were organized into companies, under proper officers; and were required to meet at stated times, for inspection and exercise.

In 1642, the Military Company of Southampton was required to meet six or eight times a year, for these purposes.

The public expenses were defrayed by a tax, the amount of which, was fixed by a vote of the people in a general town meeting; and the rates were made and gathered by persons chosen for that purpose.

The more effectually to preserve the purity of the public morals, they excluded from their society such as they judged would be likely to injure them.

The lands were purchased and held by the first settlers and they could dispose of them to whom they pleased. This power was an

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Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 20, & 21.

important engine in their hands, for the preservation of good morals; and it seems to have been efficiently employed for that purpose.

In the year 1651, the town of Easthampton ordered that a lot should not be laid out for a certain individual, and that he should not stay in the town.

In 1662, the people of Huntington, by a vote of the town meeting, appointed a committee, consisting of their Minister, and six of their most respectable inhabitants, to examine the characters of those who came to settle among them, with power to admit, or refuse admission to them, as they judged they would be likely to benefit, or injure the society; with a proviso, that they should not exclude any "that were honest, and well approved of by honest and judicious men;" and forbid any inhabitant to sell or let house or land, to any one but such as should be approved of by the said committee, under the penalty of £10, to be paid to the town.

In 1663, the same town forbid any inhabitant to entertain a certain obnoxious individual, longer than the space of a week, either gratuitously, or for pay, under the penalty of 40 shillings, for the breach of the order "made for the peace of the town."

It seems to have been adopted as an indispensable rule, in all the English towns on the Island, that no person should be admitted to settle among them, without the approbation of the inhabitants, or of a majority of them.

The first settlers were careful in exacting punctual attendance on public worship, and a strict observance of the Sabbath, and in preventing every kind of personal injury.

In 1650 the town of Hempstead resolved, that if any person neglected to attend public worship, without a reasonable excuse, he should pay five guilders for the first offence, ten for the second, and twenty for the third; and that if he afterwards repeated the offence, he should be liable either to an aggravation of the fine, to corporal punishment, or banishment. About the same period, the town of Easthampon ordered that no Indian should travel up and down, or carry any burden in or through the town, on the Sabbath day; and

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 21, 22.

that whosoever should be found so doing, should be liable to corporal punishment.

The town of Easthampton ordained that whosoever should slander any one, should be liable to pay a fine of £5.

The same town ordained that whosoever should rise up a false witness against any man, to testify that which is wrong, there should be done unto him, as he thought to have done unto his neighbor, whether it should be to taking away life, limb, or goods.

To secure the administration of justice, and to prevent, and punish offences, a court was established in every town, in the English territory, called the town court; it was composed generally of three Magistrates, a Clerk, and Constable, who were chosen annually by the peope in their respective town meetings.

The people of the respective towns, invested their town court with power to hear, and determine all causes, civil and criminal.

The parties were entitled to a jury, if either of them required it. The jury consisted of seven men, and the verdict was decided by the voice of the majority.

In most of the towns, the decisions of the town court were conclusive; but in Southampton, an appeal lay from the decisions of the town court, to the general town meeting called the general court, which heard the appeal, and gave such judgment as was deemed just and right between the parties.

Two cases of witchcraft occurred on Long Island.

In 1657, a Mrs. Garlicke, was brought before the town court of Easthampton, on suspicion of witchcraft, and a number of witnesses were examined in support of the charge. The Magistrates after hearing the testimony, concluded to send her to Connecticut for further trial, the result of which is not known.

In 1665, Ralph Hall and his wife were accused of witchcraft at Brookhaven, and the cause was tried before the court of assizes at New-York, and terminated in their aquittal; an account of which is published in the Appendix to Yates' continuation of Smith's history of New-York.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island pp. 23, & 24.

Of their Union with Connecticut.

The several English towns on Long Island, that were settled under the authority of the Earl of Stirling, and under the English claim to the Island, were exposed to interruption both by the Dutch and Indians.

In order to secure the power and influence of the New-England colonies, to protect them against the perils of their condition, they very early sought a connection with those colonies.

The several towns joined Connecticut at different times—Southampton in 1644—Easthampton in 1657—Brookhaven in 1659—Huntington in 1660, and Oyster bay, probably in 1662—Southold joined New Haven in 1648, and with that colony was united with Connecticut in 1662.

The towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield, in 1639, formed an union for their mutual benefit, and framed a constitution, better calculated to secure liberty and good government, perhaps, than any that had ever before been formed. This compact constituted the government and original jurisdiction of Connecticut.

Connecticut was at first, and for many years, without the authority of a patent, and, in fact, had no legal jurisdiction beyond the bounds of those three towns, and such as joined them. The several towns on the island were received under her jurisdiction on their voluntary offer, and at their own solicitation.

By the union they became members of the body politic of Connecticut, and were entitled to the benefits, and liable to the duties of the other towns within her jurisdiction, and became, in common with them, entitled to the protection of the united colonies.

The several towns became entitled to send deputies to the general court at Hartford; and it appears that the towns of Southampton, and East Hampton, availed themselves of the privilege, and sent deputies to Hartford, as Southold did to New Haven.

The union seems to have resembled an alliance for mutual consultation and defence, rather than a consolidated government.

The charter of Connecticut granted by Charles II. was received

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 24, & 25.

in 1662. It was very similar in its provisions to the constitution adopted in 1639, and was little more than a developement of them.

The liberal provisions of the new charter made the several towns on Long Island very desirous to perpetuate their connection with that colony. Long Island was not mentioned in the charter, but the names of some of the magistrates of one or more of the towns were inserted among those who were to administer it.

A clause in the new charter, annexing the adjacent islands to that colony, also furnished her with a pretext to claim Long Island; and it was doubtless with the consent, if not at the instance, of the several towns on the island that had joined her jurisdiction, that she set up a construction of her charter, which, if it could have been sustained, would had embraced all the English towns on the island, and the whole island after the conquest.

After the reception of the royal charter, the general court of Connecticut claimed the legal jurisdiction over the English towns on Long Island which had put themselves under her protection, and had become members of her association.

These towns were permitted to send deputies to the general court, and were liable to the same duties as the other towns. Each town was entitled to send one deputy to the general assembly, but were wholly left at liberty to send one or not as they chose.

The general court appointed such public officers in the several towns as were not permitted by the charter to be chosen by the people.

April 6th, 1663, the town of Huntington chose three men, whose names were to be sent to Hartford for the general court to elect two out of the number, as magistrates for the town.

The general court ordered a contribution to be levied on the towns on the island, as well as on those on the main, towards the payment of the expense of the new charter, and it would seem that they were subject to taxes in the same manner as other towns within her jurisdiction.

In 1664 the town of Southampton appointed men to make the rate "both in respect to Hartford and this town."

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, p. 26.

May 12th, 1664, the general court proceeded to organize the courts on the island, on the plan of those of Connecticut.

For this purpose they appointed the governor, and three others, to go to the island to settle the English plantation there under the government of Connecticut, to establish quarter courts, and other courts, for the administration of justice; provided their judgments should not extend to life, limb, or banishment; and directed capital cases to be tried at Fairfield, or Hartford.

These commissioners came upon the island in June, 1664, organized courts, established rules for the collection of rates, and other matters; but their arrangements were all frustrated before they could be carried into effect, by the conquest of the Dutch territories, and the annexation of Long Island to the government of the Duke of York.

Long Island was not comprised in the grant of any colony. It had been granted by order of Charles I. to William, Earl of Stirling, but had been relinquished to the crown, or to the Duke of York, by his heirs, and left free to be made the subject of a new grant, or to be included in the patent to him.

March 12th, 1664, Charles II. by letters patent, granted the country occupied by the Dutch, together with Long Island, to his brother James, the Duke of York.

A few months after the date of his patent, the Duke of York procured a squadron with some land forces, to be fitted out for the reduction of the territories comprised within his grant, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, whom he appointed to assume the government of the country as deputy governor under him, and with whom the king associated Colonel George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, esquires, as commissioners, with power to fix the boundaries between the several colonies, to adjust all difference between them, and to settle the country in peace.

The commissioners landed at Boston, on their way to New-York, and requested that that colony would raise two hundred men, and send them on to assist such troops as they had brought along with them in reducing the Dutch.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 26, & 27.

The request of the commissioners was readily assented to, but subsequent events rendered the aid unnecessary before it could be furnished.

The commissioners landed at Gravesend, on the west end of Long Island, about the middle of August, 1664. They summoned the English on the island to attend them at that place, and governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, met them there.

Colonel Nicolls exhibited to the governor, and such as were there assembled, the letters patent to the Duke of York, with his own commission.

Colonel Nicolls demanded a surrender of the country, promising life, liberty, and property, to the inhabitants on their submission. Governor Winthrop wrote to the Dutch governor, recommending a surrender on the terms offered, and after a few days had been spent in messages and letters between colonel Nicolls and the Dutch governor, the place was surrendered to the commissioners the twenty-seventh of August, old style.

Governor Winthrop, after seeing the letters patent to the Duke of York, informed the English on Long Island that Connecticut had no longer any claim to the island; that what they had done was for the welfare, peace, and quiet settlement of his Majesty's subjects, as they were the nearest organized government to them under his Majesty; but now his Majesty's pleasure was fully signified by his letters patent, their jurisdiction ceased and became null.

It seems, however, that the colony of Connecticut was still desirous of retaining Long Island under her jurisdiction, and the several towns on the island which had been connected with that colony, were as anxious that the connection should be continued.

November 30, 1664, the commissioners met to settle the boundary between Connecticut and the Duke of York, and after hearing the allegations of the deputies who attended from Long Island, as well as those who attended from Connecticut in favor of connecting Long Island with that colony, they determined that the south boundary of Connecticut was the Sound, and that Long Island was to be under the government of his Royal Highness, the Duke of York.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 27, & 28.

OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF THE SEVERAL TOWNS ON THE ISLAND.

Of the Dutch Towns.

The people of the Dutch towns professed the doctrines inculcated by the Synod, held at Dort, in Holland, in 1618, and were under the ecclesiastical government of the classis of Amsterdam, until 1772, when the Dutch church of this country established an independent classis and synods on the model of the church in Holland.

Each town had its own consistory, but the whole constituted but one church. Their ministers were colleagues, preached in turn in all the churches, and were supported by a common contribution.

The first house for public worship that was erected by the Dutch, was built in New-Amsterdam, 1642.

December 17, 1654, the governor, who seems to have exercised supreme power in ecclesiastical, as well as civil and military affairs, ordered a house for public worship to be erected at Flatbush, sixty feet in length, thirty-eight in breadth, and fourteen feet in height below the beams.

February 9, 1655, the governor ordered the people of Brooklyn and Amersfort, to assist the people of Midwout, or Flatbush, in cutting timber to build the house.

The next house for public worship was commenced at Flatlands, in 1663, and one at Brooklyn, in 1666.

October 13, 1656, the Reverend Joannes Theodorus Polhemus, was by the Dutch governor permitted to preach at Midwout and Amersfort.

In March, 1656, to accommodate the four villages, Gravesend, Amersfort, Midwout, and Brooklyn, the Dutch governor ordered Mr. Polhemus to preach every Sunday morning at Midwout, and in the afternoon alternately at Amersfort and Brooklyn.

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 28 & 29.

Of the English Towns.

The original settlers of the several towns in Suffolk county, and the greater number of the first settlers of the English towns in the Dutch territory, were united in their religious opinions. They were uniform in their adherence to the doctrines contained in the confession of faith, agreed on by the assembly of divines who met at Westminster in 1642. They also accorded with each other on the subject of church government. The constitution of the churches in the several towns was originally congregational, and so continued until 1747, when the greater number were prevailed on to exchange the congregational form for that of the Presbyterian, which they were taught to believe to be better adapted to support purity of doctrine, and an efficient discipline.

In most of the towns in Suffolk county and in Hempstead, a minister accompanied the first settlers, and a church was organized among them, either before or soon after the commencement of their respective settlements.

A house for public worship was erected in Southampton, and probably in Southold, previous to the year 1645, and these were the first houses that were erected for public worship on the island.

A house for public worship was erected at Hempstead, probably before 1650, in East Hampton in 1651, in Jamaica in 1662, and in Huntington in 1665.

The first houses that were erected for public worship in the several towns were not large. The difficulty of procuring materials limited them in the construction of the buildings to the accommodation of the respective societies, at the time they were erected.

The house erected in Jamaica in 1662 was thirty-six feet in length, twenty-six in breadth, and seventeen feet high. The second house erected in Hempstead in 1677 was forty feet in length, twenty-six in breadth, and twelve feet high. The one erected in Brookhaven, in 1671, was twenty-eight feet square.

At this early period the houses of public worship were without the accommodation of bells, and in several of the towns, if not in

Wood's Sketch of Long Island, pp. 31, & 32.

all, the people employed a person to beat a drum to apprize them of the time of public worship.

In 1662, the town of Jamaica agreed to give a person thirty shillings a year for beating a drum on the Sabbath day.

The subject in relation to boundaries and other matters between the Dutch and English, resumed.

No serious differences, however, arose between the Dutch and English planters before the 25th of April, 1640. On that day the constable of Hartford, with ten men, came upon the land where the servants of the company were at work, and forcibly drove them away. They then seized the grounds which had been ploughed, and sowed them. During the months of May, June, July, and August, the English planters continued to throw impediments in the way of the Dutch planters, sometimes by hindering them in the cultivation of the ground, and at others by taking their cattle, grass, and corn. Osdicke, the company's agent, served a protest on Mr. Haines, the deputy governor, but it was unavailing.—See Hazzard's col. of state papers.

In 1640 several planters were massacred at Staten Island, by bands of the Lenni Lenape.—See Wood's Sketch of L. I.

On the fifth of April, in the year 1641, the English planters at Good Hope (Hartford,) by force prevented the Dutch from ploughing their land. They beat the men and horses, and compelled them to withdraw. A complaint was made to Mr. Hopkins the governor, but he paid no attention to it.—Hazzard's S. C. S. P.

On the 7th of May they cut the harness of the horses while the Dutch were ploughing. On the 26th of the same month the English obstructed the road leading from the village of Good Hope to the woods.—Hazzard's S. P.

The expedition against the English on Schuylkill was entrusted to Jan Jansen Alpendam. His instructious were dated May twenty-second 1642. The Dutch claimed the lands and trade of those parts. The English had a small stockade fort and a storehouse at Schuylkill, which he burnt.

It is asserted by some of the New England writers, but we think without proper proof, that the English planters on Connecticut river drove the Dutch garrison away from Good Hope in 1642, and possessed themselves of it.

This year the Dutch built a church at New Amsterdam. This was the first house for public worship which they erected in the colony.

In 1642, shortly after governor Kieft had broke up the settlement at Oysterbay, the English sent deputies to New Amsterdam for the accommodation of their disputes about limits, to whom the Dutch offered the following conditions:

"Conditiones a D. Directore gen. Senatus Novi Belgii, Dominis Weytingh atque Hill, Delegatis a nobili Senatu Hartfordiensi oblatæ:

"Pro agro nostro Hartfordiensi, annuo persolvent præpotentiss. D. D. Ordinibus Fœd. Provinciarum Belgicarum aut corum vicariis, decimam partem reventus agrorum, tum aratro, tum ligone, aliove cultorum medio; pomariis, hortisq; oleribus dicatis, jugerum Hollandium non excedentibus exceptis; aut decimarum loco, pretium nobile postea constituendum, tam diu quam diu possessores ejusdem agri futuri erunt. Actum in arce Amstelodamensi in novo Belgio, die Julii 9, anno Christi, 1642."

For the gratification of the reader we shall give the translation, which is as follows:

Conditions offered by the Director General and Senate of the New Netherlands, to Messrs. Whiting and Hill, delegates, sent by the noble Senate of Hartford:

It is proposed that you pay to their Mightinesses, or to their lieutenants, agreeable to the ordinances of the United Provinces of the Belgæ, the tenth part of the revenues of our lands at Hartford, as well those ploughed as those in wood, or otherwise under culture; as also the tenth from the orchards and gardens, and all those things belonging to garden stuffs; excepting the cider and garden stuffs if they do not exceed an acre Holland measure, or instead of the tenth which price is hereafter to be fixed according to custom so long as you are in possession of the lands. Given under our hand, at our fort at Amsterdam, in New Netherlands, the 9th day of July in the year of Christ 1642.

We have no account that the English acceded to these proposals, nor is it probable, considering their superior strength, that they ever did; on the contrary, they daily extended their possessions. In

the year 1643 the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, entered into a league both against the Dutch and the Indians, and grew so powerful as to meet shortly after upon a design of extirpating the former. The Massachusetts bay, however, declined this enterprise.—See Smith's Hist. of N. Y.

Ever since the year 1636 the English had continued to encroach upon the Dutch possessions on Connecticut river, notwithstanding the frequent protestations of the latter. They built Hartford upon the company's grounds, about a good gun-shot distant from Good Hope, founded by the Netherlanders in the year 1623.

The lands along the river, except some ground around the fort and village of Good Hope, were not purchased from the natives till January, 1633. Then one Jacob Van Curlis, in the service of the States' General, and the West India company, bought them from the sachems of the Mohegans, &c.

In 1642, the Dutch still continued to complain of being interrupted in the tillage of the land, at, and around Good Hope. The same occurred in 1643.

In 1643, Mr. Kieft made a treaty with Tackapausha, the sachem of the Marsapeagues, and the chiefs of five other clans. All these resided on Long Island, at, and towards its west end. Wood's Sketches.

On the 26th of February, 1643, the Governor complained of the insolence of the savages, for two or three years past. That they came in droves of fifty in sight of the fort, and took horses, cows, hogs, geese, &c., and murdered severel persons: and that they refused to give up the murderers, and make restitution.

Governor Kieft in 1643, prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors to them.

In 1644, a general war was commenced with the savages north of the Sound, and west of the English settlements in Connecticut, which lasted till the summer of 1646, and was terminated by a battle at Strickland's plain in Horse Neck, in which the Dutch with difficulty prevailed.

In 1645, the town of Southampton ordered one-half of their military to attend under arms on Sabbath at meeting. The Indians

sometimes committed depredations on the property of the whites. Wood's Sketch.

The Indians must have appeared in hostile attitudes, otherwise these measures would not have been resorted to.

In the years 1644, and 1645, there do not appear to have been differences of much moment between the infant settlements of the Dutch and English.

The Dutch and English dwelt in two villages, which were enclosed with pickets, in order to protect the people from the attacks of the natives. Watches, or centinels, were kept constantly on duty. We read of difficulties arising between some of the Dutch, and some of the English inhabitants, during the night, induced by the watches. In these times, every able bodied man had to perform his tour of military duty.! The numbers of the natives, and their fickleness, made it necessary to observe all their movements, and be in constant readiness to repel them, in case of attacks. The cultivators labored in small bodies in the same field, or in different fields. The joint produce was divided after harvest. A separation among the planters did not occur till after a lapse of some years, and before their numbers had become so considerable as to leave them under few or no apprehensions. Then, and not till then, were considerable clearings made.

On the third of August, in the year 1646, William Kieft, the governor of the New Netherlands, sent a protest to the English government at New Haven. This place was then called by the Dutch "the Red Hills." In this he says, "we give you notice, that for some years past, you have indirectly entered the limits of the New Netherlands, usurped divers places in them, and injured us, without making any satisfaction, although we have often requested it: And because, you, and your people have of late determined to settle near Mauritius in this province, and there not only disturb our trade, but draw it to yourselves: we are compelled to protest, and by these presents, we do protest against you as breakers of the peace, and disturbers of the public quiet. That if you do not restore the places you have usurped, and repair the losses we have sustained, we shall by such means as God hath afforded us, manfully recover them." Hazzard's S. P.

To this protest, a reply was made on the 12th of August, in the same year, to Mr. Kieſt the governor. In the reply, the goverment of New Haven say, "we know no such river as Mauritius: nor do we know what you intend by that name, unless it be Hudson's river." "Nor have we at any time entered upon any place to which you had, or have title: nor have we in any other respect been injurious to you." "It is nevertheless true, that we have lately built a small house within our own limits, upon Pawgusett river, which falls into the sea in the midst of the English plantations; but it is far from the Manhattoes, where you have your trading-house, and from any port on Hudson's river." "We expect little trade at it; the natives being free to traffic with your people, or our people. We did not build a fort there before we had purchased a title from them—the native proprietors. What injuries and outrages we have received in our persons, and properties at Manhattoes, Delaware river, and other places from you; our former letters and protests, do both declare and prove, to all which you have hitherto given, very unsatisfactory answers." "But whatever injuries and outrages we have received: we conceive that we have neither done, or returned any thing but what doth agree with the law of God; the law of nations, and with that ancient confederation and amity, between our and your superiors at home. We will readily refer all questions, and differences between you and us, to any due examination and judgment, either here or in Europe, &c." Hazzard's C. S. P.

On or about the seventh of September, of the same year, two other letters were addressed to Mr. Kieſt. The one was from the government of Hartford, and the other, from that of New Haven. We shall not give the letters, but such extracts as seem to have a bearing on the subject.

"It is nearly three years since the governor of Massachusetts by the consent, and advice of the council of that colony, did propound to your consideration, sundry injurious acts, done by your agent upon Fresh river, (Connecticut river,) and some of his family upon our brethren at Hartford, to all of which, you gave no satisfaction. Your agent and his company, have now grown to a strange and insufferable boldness. An Indian captive, liable to

public punishment, fled from her master at Hartford, is entertained at your house at Good Hope; and though requested by the Magistrate, is under the protection of your agent, who refuses to give her up. Such a servant is part of her master's estate, and a more considerable part than a beast. Your agent himself, in height of disorder, and contempt of authority, resists the watch at Hartford by night, draws and breaks his sword upon their weapons, and by flight escapes." See Hazzard's C. S. P.

From the foregoing, we learn that the colonists at a very early period, enslaved their captives, and that they held them in but little higher estimation than they did beasts of burden.

The following extracts are taken from a letter of September 22nd, 1646, wrote by Mr. Kieft, to the commissioners of the confederate English, at the Red Mount (New Haven,) in the New Netherlands, and are in answer to the preceding.

"The inhabitants of Hartford have deceived you with false accusations, as were easy to be evidenced by us, were we disposed at this time to produce them; but that we may not seem to evade you with vain words, we shall at this time present you with a few particulars, in order that you may judge of them." And therefore, passing by the usurping by the people of Hartford of our jurisdiction, and our lands against possessions solemnly taken by us, notwithstanding our former protestations; we do say, that the blood of our countrymen shed by the inhabitants, and the selling of our domestic beasts by them: do sufficiently show the equity of our proceedings in the case of Whiting."

"So far as concerns the Indian hand-maid, although it be apprehended by some, that she is no slave, but a free woman, and because she was neither taken in war, nor bought with price, but was in former times placed with me by her parents for education: yet we will not suffer her to be wrongfully detained."

"Concerning the breaking in of our agent upon the watch at Hartford by night, we truly conceive that watches are appointed for the defence of towns against enemies, and not for the hindrance of friends while returning to their houses."

"Certainly. when we hear the inhabitants of Hartford complaining of us, we seem to hear Esop's wolf complaining of the lamb."

"To conclude, we protest against all your commissioners met at the Red Mount, as against breakers of the common league, and also as infringers of the rights of the lords the States our superiors, in that you have presumed without express permission, to hold your general meeting within the limits of the New Netherlands.' See Hazzard's C. S. P.

Thus the parties had as yet done nothing beyond complaining of injuries, and grievances, and protesting. Both claimed the country which now constitutes the state of Connecticut. Both had formed establishments, and taken possession of parts. Neither would allow the claim of the other to be well founded.

Hitherto the Dutch and English had been cautious about furnishing the Indians with guns, hatchets, and other warlike instruments. Both governments had prohibited the traders from selling these weapons. The love of gain however, had tempted some to break over it.

In 1646, the Swedes built a church at New Gottenburgh, on the island of Tennacum, which was consecrated by Dr. John Campanius. Tennacum is three leagues east of Christiana, in the state of Delaware. The Swedes settled here in 1631, and erected a small fort. Their governors resided here. The natives called the island Tutae-ae-nungh-teniko. The Swedes named it New Gottenburgh. See History of Swedeland, in the Historical collections of New-York.

CHAPTER XIII.

William Kieft succeeded in the government of the New Netherlands by Peter Stuyvesant.—The disputes between the Dutch and English planterss on Connecticut river, and other places, still continued.—Correspondence between Mr. Stuyvesant, the governor, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England.—Conference between governor Stuyvesant and the Commissioners of New England, at Good Hope, (Hartford).—Reference.—Report of the referees.—The Dutch after the report withdrew from Connecticut, and the eastern and middle parts of Long Island.—Disputes between the Dutch and English about the lands around Delaware bay.—Differences between the Dutch and Swedes, &c.

On the twenty-seventh of May, 1647, Peter Stuyvesant superseded Mr. Kieft in the government of the New Netherlands. He found himself embroiled very soon after his arrival with the colonies of New England.

The commissioners of the United Colonies being convened at Boston, in Massachusetts, wrote on the sixteenth of June, 1647, a letter of congratulation to Mr. Stuyvesant. In this they say, "some things have been presented to us, which we shall present to you for your consideration. We have been informed of a dangerous liberty taken by many of your people in selling guns, powder, shot, and other instruments of war to the natives, not only at your fort Aurania (Orange;) but at Long Island, on Connecticut river, and other places within the English jurisdiction." And though you may have laws to suppress so mischievous a trade; yet so strong is the temptation by an excessive gain, that without constant care, and severe execution, the inconvenience cannot be removed."

On the 6th of September, 1648, the commissioners addressed another letter from Plymouth.

"It is now more than a year," they say, "since we wrote to you, under a desire of confirming, and perpetuating the peace between the English and Dutch plantations."

"They repeat what they had said in their former letter, in relation to selling guns &c. at Orania (Aurania,) and other places within, as they alleged, the English jurisdiction." We say, they "have considered your claim to all the lands, rivers, streams, &c. from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, with your protest and letter, dated October 12th, 1647: we have also seen divers letters, which you have sent to New Haven, together with the answers to August 28th, 1648; old style. By all of which, we find much cause of meeting to adjust the differences."

We are not in possession of sundry letters: nor is it likely that they are extant, that Mr. Stuyvesant wrote to the commissioners of Massachusetts bay, Plymouth, and New Haven, in relation to the differences concerning boundaries, territory, and property; but it appears from the preceding, that he had wrote, and that he had proposed to them a meeting on Connecticut river, in order to settle the differences, establish boundaries, and transact such other business as might concern the respective colonies.

The commissioners of Plymouth in their letters in answer, say, "you desire, that yourself, and some of the English may be delegated to adjudicate past actions, reconcile the present differences, and prevent all future occasion of contention."

Again they say, "if you meet in the spring with the governor of Massachusetts and Plymouth, you hope that a reconciliation and adjustment may be made." Hazzard's C. S. P.

The answer of Stuyvesant was given in September, or October of the same year; but it seems not to have been preserved: our knowledge of it is derived therefore from communications made by the commissioners of Plymonth and Massachusetts. In one of these they say, "we wrote to you in the month of September 1648, on sundry particulars, in respect to an adjustment of the differencs between us, and obtained your answer; but in it, you are altogether silent concerning the dangerous trade carried on between your people, and the natives at Aurania, and other places, in guns, warlike munitions, &c."

"We assert," say they, "the English title and just right both to the New Haven lands, and harbor, and to all the English plantations from Cape Cod, or point Judith, both on the main, and the islands which are possessed by the English, as anciently granted by our sovereign to his subjects, and since duly purchased from the Aborgines; and peaceably planted by the inhabitants of the United Colonies."

"We have perused the letters which you sent, both to the governor of Mssachusetts, and Plymouth, concerning Delaware bay, and the lands thereabouts, claimed by the people of New Haven." The foregoing was dated at the town of Boston, August 6th, 1649, old style. Hazzard's C .S. P.

The preliminaries for a congress, or meeting, being adjusted; Governor Stuyvesant, repaired in the month of September, 1650, to Good Hope (Hartford,) on Connecticut river, where he met the commissioners of the confederate colonies of New England. After having had some conferences with them, Mr. Stuyvesant, on the 23d day of September, in the same month, presented a written statement of the matters in dispute. He informed them, that he had been led to do this, to the end that he might be better enabled to render an account to the High and Mighty States General of the United Belgic provinces, and the honorable Lords Bewinthebbers, of the West India Company. In regard to the statement, it contains little or nothing of interest, beyond encroachments by the English planters. We shall, however, make an abstract of the substantial part.

In the first place, it sets out the wrongs and injuries done to their High Mightiness, and the honourable West India Company, by certain of the English planters, by their unjust usurpation and their possessing the lands lying along Connecticut river, or the Fresh River, being the lands which the company had bought of the original proprietors, and paid for, before any other nation had either bought or pretended right thereunto, for which a full surrender, and satisfaction were now required."

In the second place, "it proposed, in order to end the disputes, that a provisional boundary be fixed, and that a written statement be sent to their superiors for ratification."

On the same day, Edward Hopkins, the president of Hartford, in the name of the commissioners, addressed a note to Mr. Stuyvesant, signifying their unwillingness to treat, because the propositions made by his excellency, were dated at New Netherlands, not at Hartford.

On the following day, Mr. Stuyvesant, by a note informed Mr. Hopkins, that he did not think this a sufficient ground to break off the conferences; but to remove every objection, he would for the future forbear to style it New Netherlands, if he would not style it Hartford in New England, and that he would date his letters at Connecticut in New Netherlands. To this, Mr. Hopkins assented, and returned an answer to the propositions of Mr. Stuyvesant.

The commissioners in this, asserted the right of the English to Connecticut river, with all the plantations and lands upon, or about the same. That evidence was necessary to show whether the English had made encroachments, or not, upon the pretended rights of the states of the United Provinces."

"By what rules the traders, whether of Aurania, or Springfield walk, they did not enquire. That trade was free, and that merchants attended to their own interests." Hazzard's C. S. P.

The commissioners, although the government of the United Colonies had frequently complained of the Dutch selling guns, powder, and hatchets, to the Indians; seemed unwilling on the pre-present occasion, to take the subject up.

The parties had now come to an issue. The Dutch claimed title to the whole country watered by Connecticut river and its dependent branches. The English claimed the same country. Mr. Stuyvesant proposed to refer all disputes whether in regard to boundaries or to individuals to four referees to be appointed by the parties. To this proposition the New England commissioners acceeded.

The Dutch at this time had a small garrison at Good Hope. Both the Dutch and English had magistrates who exercised jurisdiction over their respective people. This appears in the correspondence.

The commissioners of the United Colonies appointed Messrs. Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Prentice referees on their part, while

Mr. Stuyvesant appointed Messrs. Thomas Willett and George Baxter, on the part of the New Netherlands. The appointments were made on the 28th of September, 1650. Full powers were given to the referees to hear, adjudge, and determine every thing in controversy.

The referees met immediately after and made a report, which embraced most of the disputed matters. The following abstracts in relation to boundaries and limits are the only things which can interest the reader.

"Concerning the boundaries and limits betwixt the English United Colonies and the Dutch province of New Netherlands, we agree and determine as followeth :"—

1. "That upon Long Island a line run from the westermost part of Oyster Bay, so and in a straight and direct line to the sea shall be the bounds between the English and the Dutch there : the easterly part to belong to the English the westermost to the Dutch."

"The bounds upon the main to begin at the west side of Greenwich bay, about four miles from Stanford, and so to run a northerly line twenty miles up into the country, and after as it shall be agreed by the two governments of the Dutch and of New Haven, provided the said line come not within ten miles of Hudson's river."

2. "And it is agreed that the Dutch shall not at at any time hereafter build any house or habitation within six miles of the said line. The inhabitants of Greenwich to remain till further consideration thereof be had, under the government of the Dutch."

3. "That the Dutch shall hold all the lands in Hartford, that they are actually possessed of, known or set out by certain marks and bounds, and all the remainder of the said lands on both sides of Connecticut river to be and remain to the English there.'

4. "And it is agreed that the aforesaid bounds and, limits both upon the island and main shall be observed and kept inviolate both by the English of the United Colonies, and all the nation, without any encroachment or molestation, until a full and final determination be agreed upon in Europe by the mutual consent of the two states of England and Holland." Hazzard's C. S. P.

At this meeting the referees had some conversation in relation to a union, friendship and amity between the English and Dutch colonies, against the Indians and others; but the further consideration

of this matter was postponed to the next yearly meeting of the commissioners.

From the tenor of this conversation, and the correspondence between the Dutch and English colonists, there seems to have been an understanding between the leading men in respect to the course to be pursued with the aborigines. Both were suspicious of them, and viewed them at best but as dangerous friends. They knew the natives looked on them as intruders upon their ancient domains. In no instance did the colonists of either of these nations excite the natives to take up arms against the other. Nor is there an instance of their furnishing aids. The pursuits of the Dutch and English were nearly alike. Their interests were very much alike. The people of both nations were bent on commerce and colonization. A vast field was opened to enterprise and industry. Each strove to monopolize the fur trade, which was extremely lucrative. Nor were they very scrupulous as to the means used. In general, they overeached the Indians in every bargain. Every species of ingenuity which the human mind could devise was called into requisition. The Indians were extremely ignorant; consequently they were outdid in all their bargains, whether with the one or the other. Their lands they either sold for small sums, or ceded gratuitously. Witness how easily the settlers obtained permission to erect forts and trading houses on their very arrival; and how readily they obtained extravagant grants for nominal sums.

The Swedes and Fins had settled on both sides of Delaware bay and river in the states of New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, (then portions of the New Netherlands) as early as the year 1627. These being joined by more of their countrymen, who came from time to time, made encroachments upon the Dutch in those parts.

The governor, Mr. Stuyvesant, being alarmed, adopted measures to put a stop to those encroachments. In 1651, he caused a fort to be built on Delaware river, where Newcastle now stands, which he called Casimer. A Swedish ship, about this time, arrived in Rariton river, through the mistake of Deswyck the captain. Mr. Stuyvesant, upon intelligence of this, ordered it to be seized and brought into New Amsterdam.

The Swedes like other nations who had made discoveries and

planted colonies laid claim to part of the North American continent. When the Dutch were constructing ſort Casimer and ſorming an establishment there, Printz, the Swedish governor, protested formally against the works and the encroachments, and claimed the country for Sweden. Mr. Risingh, his successor, not long after, under the disguise of friendship, came before the fortress of Casimir fired two salutes, and landed with thirty men, who were entertained by the commandant as friends; but Risingh had no sooner discovered the weakness of the garrison than he made himself master of it;[1] seizing also upon all the ammunition houses and other effects of the West India Company, and compelling several of the people to swear allegiance to Christina, queen of Sweden. See Smith's Hist. N. Y.

In September, 1651, sundry of the inhabitants of New Haven presented a petition to the commissioners of the United Colonies, convened at that place. In this, among other things, they alleged that several merchants had purchased of the native Sagamores (chiefs) and their companions several large tracts of land on both sides of Delaware bay and river, and that they had begun to build and set up factories for trade, and had purposed to make plantations: but that they had been prevented by the Dutch and Swedes, in their works, and compelled by force to leave the country. That in consequence of the proceedings had the year before at Hartford, they, to the number of about fifty, had set out for Delaware river for the purpose of recommencing the works they had been obliged to abandon in preceding times; and that on their way thither they were stopped at Manhattoes, (New Amsterdam) by the Dutch governor, and detained until they engaged under their hands not to proceed on their voyage. Hazzare's C. S. P.

The commissioners, after having taken the petition into consideration, among other conclusions, came to the following: to wit.

"That the English right by patent, the rights of the merchants and other inhabitants of New Haven, to certain tracts of land named in the petition were indubitable." "That they would write to Mr. Stuyvesant, the governor of the New Netherlands, and protest against his proceedings, assert the English right to the lands, and demand reparation for the injuries done," &c. They also gave it

as their opinion, "that the petitioners were premature in their attempts to form settlements on Delaware bay and river. That if, however, they should think proper to commence plantations there they were at liberty to do so, at any time within twelve months; and might embark to the number of one hundred and fifty: and that in case the Dutch and Swedes offered any opposition, while they were peaceably carrying on their avocations, the commissioners would send a sufficient detachment of soldiers to protect their persons and properties." Hazzard's C. S. P.

The Commissioners wrote a letter to governor Stuyvesant, concerning the lands on Delaware river and bay, and concerning the detention of the ship and their people at Manhattoes. In their letter they "asserted the right of the English to those lands, and protested against his entering upon them, or throwing impediments in the way of the people of New Haven." Hazzard's, C. S. P.

The right to the lands about Delaware bay, and on Delaware river according to the maxims of the European nations was clearly in the Dutch. They had discovered and explored the bay and river long before the English came into those parts: and had taken possession in the name of their sovereign.

On the 28th of April, 1653, the commissioners received two letters from governor Stuyvesant. The one was directed to the governor of Massachusetts, and the other to the governor of New Haven. These letters we believe are not extant. It, however, appears from the tenor of other letters, that the commissioners of the United Colonies had charged him with entering into a plot with the Indians, for the destruction of the plantations of New Haven, Hartford, &c. and that he denied it, and offered to come or send a person, in order to clear himself of the charge. Hazzard's C. S. P.

The commissioners deputed three agents to go to New Amsterdam, with a letter to governor Stuyvesant. And, however strange it may seem they were commissioned to try him. We shall, for the satisfaction of the reader, copy some portions of the letter.

"The United English colonies," say the commissioners, "have by letters, protests, and treaty, often proposed their grievances, and have required reparation, both from you and your predecessor, but without effect."

" We have lately, they say, obtained evidence of a treacherous conspiracy formed against ourselves, our wives and children." "We have the proof of several Indians, that you are concerned in the plot. But we cannot believe that you would enter into so base a design."

" We have intelligence that Nimnigret, one of the sachems of the Narragansetts passed the winter with you at Manhattoes, and that in the early part of the spring he returned home in a sloop provided by you. That he exchanged presents with you as we have been assured by his messengers sent to us. And though Nimnigret denies the plot, yet one of his messengers here, both by speeches and carriages rendered both the Dutch and him very suspicious."

" The Wampeage sachem's brother, in company with one of the Narragansetts, confessed the plot before Mr. Haines and others at Hartford." They also stated " that Nimnigret went over Hudson's river and called meetings of the sachems, and there communicated the plot and conspiracy against the English." They likewise say " we have heard that there are many Indians upon Long Island and the main who will testify the same to your face." They concluded by saying that they expected speedy and just satisfaction from him for all former grievances, and due security for the future for what passed in his predecessor's time." Hazzard's C. S. P.

The letter from which the foregoing extracts are taken, is signed by John Endicott, William Hathorne, William Bradford, John Brown, Roger Ludlow, John Cullicke, Theophilus Eaton, and John Astwood, and dated at Boston, May, 2nd, 1653. The whole story of the plot and conspiracy appears to have been a fabrication. The commissioners immediately after the arbitration seemed to have been desirous of raising new troubles, in order to expel the Dutch. The sequel seems in a measure to warrant the conclusion.

In the year 1650, all differences had been amicably adjusted. The Dutch had abandoned all claims to the lands along Connecticut river, and westwardly to near where the present boundary of the state is. In doing this, they had been compelled by the superior numbers of the United Colonies: not by any right; for the English had none according to the established usages of European nations.

Mr. Stuyvesant, at the time he made the submission, was not in a condition to enforce the Dutch rights, or he would not have made it.

The agents of the United Colonies, on their arrival at New Amsterdam, requested that Mr. Stuyvesant and his council, should name a time and a place, for having the testimony in relation to the supposed plot, and conspiracy. They proposed Flushing and Hempstead, both or either, as occasion should require for the places of meeting; provided his excellency would allow them to call such witnesses as they saw fit; and provided also, that no English, Indian, or other person, should be molested while there, or called to an account afterwards for what he testified."

To this request, and the proposals, Mr. Stuyvesant and his council, answered, that they knew no plot; but, however, this might be, they were both willing, and ready to have the matter investigated upon legal principles. They therefore named Mr. Seam Delamontayneth first counsellor in the New Netherlands, and David Provoost, and Gouert Lockerman on their part. These gentlemen understood the Dutch, English, and Indian languages, and were instructed to meet with the agents of the confederated colonies, at both, or either of these places.

The colonial agents of New England objected to two of the persons named.

Several notes passed between them and Mr. Stuyvesant. The governor proposed friendship, alliance, and correspondence, a continuance of trade, &c., and also, that there should be concluded a defensive and offensive war against the Indians, and other enemies of the good inhabitants of both provinces.

The agents, on taking leave, told governor Stuyvesant, that if in the future, he should offer any wrong to the English, whether by himself, or the Indians, that the commissioners since they did no wrong, would resent it, and cause satisfaction to be made. They left New Amsterdam about the 25th of May, 1653.

On the 26th day of the same month, the governor wrote a very long letter to the governor and council of Massachusetts, which he sent by Agustine Heerman. From it we have copied the following:

"The sudden departure of your agents, without waiting to receive an answer, has put us to the trouble of sending a messenger to you with one. We have done this in order to prevent any misunderstanding, which might hereafter arise from misrepresentations on their part. In your letter to me, you say, "that the United Colonies, have, on several occasions, by letters, treaties, and protests, propounded their grievances, and sought reparations both from the present, and former director; but to no purpose." In answer to this, we would observe, that we have at all times evinced a disposition to have all differences adjusted.

It is needless, as well as foreign at this time, to enumerate all the grounds of complaint, because they have already been frequently agitated, and are known to you, as well as to us; but to come to the charge which you have preferred against us, of a bloody plot, and conspiracy, and of which you had no proof. We feel confident, that upon examination, if you will take the trouble of one, you will find that there was no cause for making the allegation against us. We have never directly, or indirectly, excited the Indians or others against your people: nor have we entered into any league, or compact with them, with intent to injure any one. We have done no more with them, than you have. We have always, since our arrival, labored to maintain friendly correspondence with them. This was necessary to the security, prosperity, and happiness of our infant colony.

We might enumerate the protests of our noble predecessor Mr. Kieft, against your usurpations in his time. That you invaded the rights of our superiors, and ruined many of their servants; but what bearing would it have? To charge us with former differences is only a departure from the subject.

If any of your people, have, by the consent of the governor of New Haven, or otherwise, bought and paid for any lands within the limits and jurisdiction of the New Netherlands, and by virtue thereof, entered upon Long Island, by Captain Howe, at Stamford, by Mr. Feaux, in the South river, by Thomas Lamberton, and have contracted to build, this is not the question; but the question is, under whose jurisdiction these lands were accounted before they were purchased, built upon, and inhabited by your people. We

have never had any differences with the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts bay, and Virginia, about encroachments, or jurisdiction; the differences have every one of them arisen on the side of the people of New Haven and Hartford. They have not to this day shown by what authority they entered upon our lands, and pretend to own them. The Dutch had settled upon the banks of Connecticut river, and built forts at Good Hope, and other places along that stream, long before the English had seen, or were acquainted with it. We might as well ask, and demand reparation of the commissioners of Plymouth and Massachusetts; but we only ask it of those who have injured us."

"And, as to the complaints against John Johnson, late a commissioner on South river; but now dead, and that against David Provost, another commissioner, late at our fort and trading house at Good Hope on Connecticut river: we know nothing about them—they happened in our predecessors time."

"You complain against the traffic of prohibited articles: such as guns, powder, and ball, sold to the Indians. We neither will, nor can allow, or wholly excuse our nation; but should we give more occasion of complaints to our side, in the case in which our neighbors do justify, in that they continually, every year, do by stealth carry out great quantities of guns and powder, into these provinces, and supply the nations therewith, notwithstanding the orders and declarations made and manifested to the contrary."

"In respect to the convention concluded at Hartford, concerning boundaries, we have never acted in contravention to it."

"And, as to Delaware bay, and the lands thereabouts, we protested before the convention was held, we could not, and would not allow any people to settle there, nor shall we now or hereafter."

"You have charged me with having entertained, and exchanged presents with a Narragansett sachem, called Nimnigret. This is in part true; but then he came hither with a pass from Mr. John Winthorpe, to be cured of a disease he labored under." See Hazzard's S. P.

The aggressions and claims of the English on one side, and the Swedes on the other, caused much uneasiness to Stuyvesant.

On the 7th of June, 1654; J. C. Rising, the Swedish gover-

nor, renewed amity with ten of the native chiefs at Prince Hall, on the island of Tennacum. Presents were given, guns were fired, and rejoicing had.

The natives exclaimed, upon hearing the guns discharged, "Pu-hu-hu-moki-rick, pickon," that is, "hear, now believe the great guns are fired!" See History of New Swedeland, in the collections of the New-York Historical Society.

The Dutch, in consequence of the capture of fort Casimir and the encroachments of the Swedes upon their possessions in that quarter, and on Delaware and Schuykill rivers, prepared an expedition against them.

Mr. Stuyvesant, the governor of the New Netherlands, commanded the forces in person, and arrived with them in Delaware bay, on the 9th of September, 1655. A few days afterwards, he anchored before fort Casimir, and debarked his troops. He demanded an immediate surrender of the fortress.

Suen Scutz the commandant, desired leave to consult Risingh, which being refused, he surrendered on the 16th day of the same month, on articles of capitulation. The whole strength of the place consisted of four cannon fourteen pounders, five swivels, and a parcel of small arms, which were all delivered up to the conquerors. Fort Christina was commanded by Risingh. Mr. Stuyvesant came before it, and Risingh capitulated on the 25th of September. The name of Christina was changed to Altona. The troops employed, amounted to about seven hundred men. This put an end to the Swedish power and colony, on the American continent.

The country being conquered; governor Stuyvesant issued a proclamation in favor of the inhabitants, as would submit to the Dutch government; about thirty Swedes swore fidelity, and obedience to the States General, and the lords directors of the West India Company, their subalterns, of the province of the New Netherlands, and the director general, there or thereafter, to be established.

Risingh, and one Elswych, a trader of note, were ordered to France, or England, and the rest of the Swedish inhabitants to Holland, and from thence to Gottenberg. The Dutch thus be-

came masters, and possessed of all the country around Delaware bay, and along Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. See History of New Swedeland in the N. Y. H. also Smith's Hist. of N. Y.

The Swedish colony must have been very feeble, since only thirty persons swore allegiance. These, it is like, were husbandmen. Those sent to Holland, were in all probability merchants, and their servants and soldiers.

On the 5th of September, 1655, the Mohiccons and Wabingas assembled and made an attack upon New Amsterdam, with intent to destroy it. They entered the town, killed about one hundred persons, and set several houses on fire, but were compelled to withdraw, by the garrison and inhabitants. The following is taken from Mr. Wood's Sketch of Long Island.

"On the 5th of September, 1655, a body of Indians landed near the fort of New Amsterdam, from eighty-four canoes, consisting of more than five hundred men, on an expedition against the Indians on the east end of Long Island. Some of them broke into a house and provoked an affray. The Indians were attacked by a detachment from the fort and compelled to embark: but they continued in the neighbourhood three days, killed fifty persons and took one hundred prisoners, burnt forty-eight houses destroyed cattle, and did much damage. They then landed on Staten Island, and massacred sixty-seven persons. From thence they crossed the Narrows and surrounded Gravesend, which was relieved by aid from New Amsterdam.

These Indians came partly from New Jersey, and partly from Westchester on the east side of Hudson's river. From 1640 to 1663, the same Indians committed many acts of hostility on the Dutch settlements.

In 1656, the town of Jamaica imposed thirty guilders on any one who should sell liquors to the Indians. The number and character of the natives rendered it prudent for the first settlers to guard against surprise, and to be prepared against every attack by them. Every man had to furnish himself with arms. Block-houses were erected in the towns as places of security. Gravesend was enclosed by palisadoes." Wood.

New Amsterdam must, at this time, have been a considerable village.

On the 22nd of May, 1656, Mr. Stuyvesant, by letter, informed the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England of the peace concluded between Holland and England. He also informed them that the settlement, in relation to boundaries, and other matters, between the provinces, had been ratified agreeably to the report made by the referees; and that he would meet them whenever they named a time and place, for the interchange of the articles contained in the said report. Hazzard's C. S. P.

We learn from the same letter, that Mr. Stuyvesant renewed the subject of a union between the colonists of both nations against the Indians and others: but the commissioners although they appear to have fallen in with the measure, did nothing towards consummating it. Hazzard's C. S. P.

In the war between England and Holland, the colonies of both nations observed a neutrality. An uninterrupted intercourse was maintained and kept up between the respective members, as though no war had existed. The colonies were too feeble, and too suspicious of the Indians, to attempt any enterprises against one another; and too inconsiderable to attract the particular notice of the parent states.

We have already mentioned the capture of fort Casimir, the taking of Christina, and the conquest of the Swedes, and their expulsion from the country around Delaware bay, and along Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, by the Dutch, under governor Stuyvesant. This country was afterwards under the command of lieutenant-governors, subject to the controul of, and commissioned by, the governor of the New Netherlands at New Amsterdam. John Paul Jacquet was the first lieutenant-governor of South river. The Dutch called Hudson's river the North river, and Delaware river the South river. The latter designation was by way of distinction. Hence they applied the name of South river to the country. The successors of Johan Paul Jaquet were Messrs. Alricks, Hinojossa, and Beekman. These lieutenant-governors had power to grant lands, and their patents make a part of the ancient titles of the present possessors. Mr. Alricks' commission of the 12th of April, 1657, shows the extent of the Dutch claim on the west side of Delaware bay and river at that time. He was appointed director-general of

the colony of the South River of New Netherlands, and the fortress of Casimer, now called New Amstel, with all the lands depending thereon, according to the first purshase and deed of release of the natives dated the 19th of July, 1651, beginning at the west side of the Minqua, or Christina kill, called in the Moheakanneew language Suspecough to the mouth of the bay or river called Bompt Hook, and in the Moheakanneew Cannaresse; and so far in as the bounds and limits of the Minquas land, with all the streams, apurtenances, and dependencies. Of the country northward of the kill no mention is made." See Smith's Hist. N. Y.

Orders were given, in the year 1658, to Mr. Beekman to purchase Cape Henlopen from the natives, and to settle and fortify it; which for want of goods was not done till the succeeding year. This cape is on the west side of Delaware bay, where it opens into the Atlantic ocean, and about seventy miles below Newcastle built on the site of fort Casimir.

The principal forts, &c. constructed by the Swedes were, Hopookahacking, (Christiana,) in 1631, Tutae-ae-nungh-teniko, on the island of Tennacum; Mocopomacka, now Chester, was a settlement; Wootsessung-sing (Elfsburgh) near Cape Henlopen; Passaiung, and Korsholm; Manijung or Schuylkill, four miles from Christiana, and Chinsessing, now Kingsess, on the Karrahung. Settlements were formed at all the foregoing places. The Spaniards, instigated by the Emperor of Germany and king of Poland, hindered the ships sent out with supplies from entering the bay. Hence these feeble colonists laboured under great disadvantages. See His. of N. Swedeland.

In the year 1659, some troubles arose from the claim of the Marylanders to the lands on South river. In the month of September, colonel Nathaniel Utie, as commissioner from Fendal, lord Baltimore's governor, arrived at New Amstel from Maryland. He ordered the Dutch to evacuate the country, lord Baltimore, as he alleged, claimed all the land between thirty-eight and forty degrees, from sea to sea. Mr. Beekman, the lieutenant governor, and his council demanded evidence of his lordship's right, and offered to prove the State's General's grant to the West India Company, their payment to them for the land and possession: and upon the whole,

proposed to refer the controversy to the republics of Holland and England; desiring at the same time three weeks to consult his excellency, Mr. Stuyvesant. The commissioners, a few days after, warned him to draw off beyond latitude forty: but Mr. Beekman paid no attention to the warning. Col. Utie thereupon returned to Maryland. An immediate invasion was expected from that quarter. Smith's Hist.

In the month of July, 1659, the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England had a meeting at Hartford, from whence they directed a communication to governor Stuyvesant.

"We presume," say they, "that you have heard from your people at the fort of Orania, (Orange,) that some of the English have lately been in those parts, upon discovery of some suitable place for a plantation, within the bounds of the patent of the Massachusetts colony; which is from the latitude of forty-two degrees and thirty minutes, and so northerly extends itself from east to west, in longitude, through the main land of America, from the Atlantic ocean to the South or West sea.

"We understand that the government of Massachusetts have granted liberty to some of their people, to erect a plantation in those parts, yet without encroachment upon the Dutch rights. We, therefore, have thought proper, on their part, to desire liberty for the said planters to pass by your towns and forts on Hudson's river." See Hazzard's C. S. P.

The colonies of New England were continually advancing new claims to lands within the jurisdiction of the New Netherlands. No sooner was one difficulty adjusted than another was raised. A reference had been had at Hartford, in the year 1650, between the Dutch and English planters, in relation to disputes about boundaries; and a report made which marked out and fixed the limits between them. The report had been approved of and ratified by the parent states. The commissioners do not seem to have insisted on having a free passage up the Hudson. Mr. Stuyvesant gave no reply to the foregoing communication.

Early in the spring of the year 1660, governor Stuyvesant dispatched, from New Amsterdam, Nicholas Van Leth and Brian Newton, to Virginia, in quality of ambassadors, with full power to

open a trade, and conclude a league offensive and defensive against the barbarians. William Berckley, the governor, gave them a kind reception, and approved their proposal of peace and commerce; which Sir Henry Moody was sent to New Amsterdam, shortly after to agree upon and perfect. Four articles, to that purpose, were drawn up and sent to the governor of Virginia for confirmation.

Governor Stuyvesant artfully endeavoured at this treaty to procure an acknowledgment of the Dutch title to the country around Delaware bay, which Berckley as carefully avoided. Mr. Stuyvesant was faithful to the States General, and the West India Company. This is abundantly proved by his letters to them, exciting their care of the colony.

In one, dated April 20th, 1660, which is very long and pathetic, representing the desperate situation of affairs on both sides of the New Netherlands, he writes:—"You imagine that the troubles in England will prevent any attempts in these parts: alas, they are ten to one in number to us, and are able, without any assistance, to deprive us of the country."

On the 25th of June, in the same year, he informs them—"that the demands, encroachments, and usurpations, of the English, give the people here great concern." "The right to both rivers," says he, "by purchase and possession is our own without dispute." "We apprehend that they, our more powerful neighbours, lay their claims under a royal patent, which we are unable to do in your name." The governor, at this time, had not the patent in his possession. See Smith's His. of N. Y.

It will be remembered that we have already mentioned that the States General of the Netherlands made a grant of the country to the West India Company.

Colonel Utie, having been unsuccessful, in the year 1659, in his mission to Mr. Beekman, the lieutenant-governor of South river, for the evacuation of the Dutch possessions on Delaware bay and river, lord Baltimore, in the autumn of 1660, applied by Captain Neal, his agent, to the West India Company in Holland for an order on the inhabitants of South river to submit to his authority; which they absolutely refused, asserting their right to that part of the colony by discovery, settlement, and possession. Smith's His. of N. Y.

The people of New England still continued their encroachments on the east. The following letter, from Mr. Stuyvesant to the West India Company, dated July 21st, 1661, shows the state of the colony, at that time, on both sides.

"We have not yet begun the fort on Long Island, near Oysterbay, because our neighbours lay the boundaries a mile and a half more westerly than we do: and the more as your honors by your advice, of December 24th, 1660, are not inclined to stand by the treaty of Hartford, and propose to sue for redress on Long Island, and the Fresh Water river, by means of the States' ambassador. Lord Sterling is said to solicit a confirmation of his right to all Long Island, and importunes the present king to confirm the grant made by his royal father, which is affirmed to be already obtained.

"But more probable and material is the advice from Maryland, that lord Baltimore's patent, which contains the south part of South river, is confirmed by the king, and published in print. That lord Baltimore's natural brother is made governor there, and has received his claim, and protests to your honors in council, and has now more hopes of success.

"We have advice from England, that there is an invason intend-against these parts, and the country solicited of the king, the duke, and the parliament, is to be annexed to their dominions: and for that purpose they desire three or four frigates, persuading the king that the company possessed and held this country under an unlawful title." See Smith's His. of N. Y.

In August, 1663, a ship arrived from Holland at South river, with new planters implements of husbandry and ammunition. Lord Baltimore's son landed a little after, and was entertained by Mr. Beekman, at New Amstel. Nothing was done in relation to the matters in dispute between Maryland and the New Netherlands. The possession of the lands around Delaware bay, was not as yet deemed a matter of much consequence. The Dutch and English colonists had already more lands than they could improve.

The troubles in England occasioned a very rapid colonization in New England. Tens of thousands left their native land and repaired to this country. This rapid emigration gave the English colonies a preponderance over the Dutch.

We shall quote some passages from Cotton Mather's Magnalia, to show that New England owed her colonization and rapid growth to religious persecution, and the troubles of the times.

"The first settlers of Plymouth and Massachusetts bay fled from religious and other persecutions. These received annually large accessions from England, owing to intolerance and persecution in matters of religion and otherwise."

The number which actually arrived from England before the year 1640, had been computed at four thousand. After this period, and during the civil war and the protectorship of Cromwell, the numbers greatly exceeded those that had come over before 1640."

"One hundred and ninety-eight ships, at different times, crossed the Atlantic ocean, crowded with emigrants, implements of husbandry and munitions of war."

"These ships brought over upwards of twenty thousand persons; and these were mostly persons in the prime of life. The whole sum expended, amounted to about £330,000 sterling," ($1,452, 000 :) a very large sum, when we consider the difference between the value of money then, and now. All the preparations, and all the disbursements, were made by the individuals concerned.

Again, "the first settlements were filled up to an overflowing. Swarms issued out and planted new establishments. Towns, villages, and hamlets, sprung up in the woods."

This immense emigration, which forms a new era in colonization in modern times, happened in less than twenty years. The same author adds, in less than fifty years, (that is, from 1620, to 1670, the United Colonies of New England contained upwards of one hundred thousand inhabitants.

Many came over on the restoration of Charles the II. which was in the same period ; but as soon as the troubles abated in England, the emigrations ceased.

Nearly all the present inhabitants of New England, including the multitude which have emigrated into this state, and elsewhere, during the last fifty years, are descended from the original stock, that is, those who came over between 1620, and 1670. The same causes for emigration did not exist in the Netherlands. Those

therefore, who came over between 1614, and 1664, came voluntarily. The colony at Jamestown in Virginia, owed its advancement in a great measure to the same troubles. Maryland was planted during the same period. New England, Virginia, and Maryland, were places where the persecuted of different sects sought refuge and peace.

While the Dutch were contending with their neighbors; the Mohiccons and Wabingas, gave them considerable trouble in Westchester, at New Amsterdam, on Long and Staten Islands, and at Esopus. At the latter place, June 7th, 1663, the Wabingas attacked Esopus, burnt part of the town, killed and wounded a number of the inhabitants, and took many prisoners. This led to a war, which lasted for a short season..

The Mohickanders, however, were soon vanquished, and had to implore peace. The Agoneaseah never gave the Dutch any disturbance, which was owing in a measure to their continual wars with the Adirondacks, or Algonquins, and the French who had settled in Canada. The latter people found these nations at war on their arrival in Canada, in 1609, and lent their assistance to the former. This embroiled them in the contest, and for a long time, retarded the infant colony of Canada. In these wars, the Dutch traders living at Orange and Schenectady, furnished the Agoneaseah with guns, powder, ball, hatchets, and knives, which enabled them to recover their accustomed .ascendancy over the Adirondacks.

November 1st, 1663, Governor Stuyvesant, under the apprehension that it was the design of the English to invade the New Netherlands, convened the magistrates of most of the villages at New Amsterdam. The meeting was composed of the magistrates of New Amsterdam, Rensselaerwick, Beverwick (Albany,) Harlaem, Bergen, Staten Island, Flatlands, Flatbush, Brooklyn, Utrecht,, and Bushwick. This meeting adjoiurned without doing any thing. Jamaica, Hempstead, Ulyssen, and Middleburgh were then towns. Wood's Sketches.

The English claimed all the American continent, between thirty-four and thirty-five degrees of north latitude. This claim was bottomed on two patents granted in the year 1606, by James the I.

called the great north and south Virginia patent. Under these patents, two colonies had been planted; the one in Virginia, and the other in New England.

The English colonists viewed the Dutch as intruders, and had made several applications to the mother country to drive them out. The usurper Cromwell was solicited to undertake it. His son Richard took some steps towards effecting it. The work was however, reserved for the reign of Charles II., who was driven to it by the differences which subsisted between England and Holland. Before this expedition, the king granted a patent on the 12th of March, 1664, to his brother the duke of York, and Albany for sundry tracts of land in America, the boundaries of which, were as follow :—

" All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland (Nova Scotia,) in America, and extending from thence along the sea coast to Pemequid, and so up the river thereof, to the furthest head of the same, as it tendeth northwardly; and extending from thence to the river Kimbequin, and so upwards by the shortest course of the river of Canada northwardly; and also all that island, or islands commonly called by the several names of Meitowacks, or Long Island situate, and being towards the west of Cape Cod, and the narrow Highgansetts, abutting upon the main land, between the two rivers called, or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's river, and all the land from the west side of Connecticut river, to the east side of Delaware bay, and also all those several islands known by the names of Martin's Vineyard, or Nantucks, otherwise Nantucket, &c." See Smith's Hist. N. Y.

The duke, on the 23d day of June, 1664, conveyed part of this tract by lease to John Lord Berkley, baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret of Saltrum in Devon, comprising the present state of New Jersey.

Thus, the New Netherlands became divided, before the surrender, into New York, which took its name in honour of the duke of York, and New Jersey, so called after the island of Jersey in the British channel.

The Dutch inhabitants of the New Netherlands were not unap-

prised of the designs of the English against them. Governor Stuyvesant had received early intelligence from one Thomas Willet an Englishman, that an expedition was preparing in England against them, consisting of two frigates of forty and fifty guns, and a fly boat of forty guns, having on board three hundred soldiers, and each frigate one hundred and fifty men. He thereupon called a council, ordered the fortresses to be put into a posture of defence, and adopted such measures as were within his reach, to repel the invaders.

The people of Massachusetts were in the secret of the expedition; for the general court had in the month of May preceding, passed a vote for a supply of provisions towards refreshing the troops on their arrival. The fleet arrived at Boston towards the last of July, with the troops and Richard Nicolls and Sir George Carteret, two of the commissioners.

Colonel Nicolls sent a letter to Mr. Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, notifying him that the fleet had come, and requiring his assistance. On the 29th of July, a second letter was sent to Mr. Winthrop, informing him that the fleet would sail for New Amsterdam with the first fair wind, and desiring him so meet him with the Connecticut forces at the west end of Long Island.

About the 30th of August, 1664, colonel Nicolls entered the bay of the North river, (New-York bay) and anchored before New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant immediately sent a letter from fort Anil to the commanders of the frigates, by John Declyer, a counsellor, the Rev. John Megapolensis, Maj. Paul Lunder Vander Grelft, and Dr. Samuel Megapolensis, desiring to know the reason of their coming into the harbour of Naijarlij, without giving him notice.

Col. Nicolls, the next day, answered this letter with a summons to governor Stuyvesant to surrender New Amsterdam, and all the other forts, towns, and places in the New Netherlands. His excellency, upon the reception of this, promised an answer the next morning, and in the meantime convened the council and burgomasters. He would willingly have made a defence, and refused a sight of the summons, both to the inhabitants and burgomasters, lest the easy terms offered might induce them to capitulate.

The latter, however, insisted upon a copy, that they might communicate it to the late magistrates and principal burghers. They called together the inhabitants at the stadthouse, and acquainted them with the governor's refusal. Governor Winthrop, at the same time, wrote to the director and his council, and strongly recommended a surrender.

On the 2nd of September, the burgomasters came again into council, and desired to know the contents of the English message from governor Winthrop, which Mr. Stuyvesant still refused. They continued their importunity, and he in a fit of anger tore it to pieces; upon which they protested against the act and all its consequences. Determined upon a defence of the country, Mr. Stuyvesant wrote a letter in answer to the summons in which he refused a compliance. See Smith's His. N. Y.

In the meantime the English commissioners published a proclamation, encouraging the inhabitants to submit, and promising them all the privileges of subjects. They dispatched officers to Middleborough, Ulissen, Jamaica, and Hempstead, on Long Island to assemble volunteers. Hugh Hide, the commodore of the squadron, was directed to make dispositions for the reduction of the fort.

These hostile measures, together with the disaffection among the inhabitants of New Amsterdam, induced the governor, who appears not to have been in a condition to defend the city, to write another letter to colonel Nicolls, on the 5th of September. In this he declares, that, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, he had directed Messrs. De Decker, Van Ruyven, Steenwick, and Cousseau, to treat about a surrender and accommodation.

Nicolls, who knew the difference existing between the governor and the people, and that the latter were inclined to submit, answered that he would treat about nothing but a surrender.

Upon this his excellency the next day agreed to a treaty and surrender, on condition that the Dutch and English limits in America should be settled by the States General and the crown of England. Deputies were thereupon named. Those on the part of the English were Sir Robert Carr, George Carteret, John Winthrop, Samuel Wyllys, Thomas Clark, and John Pynchon; those on the part of the Dutch, were John De Decker, Nicholas Verlett, Samuel Meg-

apolensis, Cornelius Steenwick, Oloffe Stevens Van Kortlant, and James Cousseau. Col. Nicolls promised to ratify whatever these agreed upon. At eight o'clock, on the morning of the 7th of September, 1664, the commissioners on both sides met at the house of the governor, and there agreed upon a treaty and surrender. See Smith's His. N. Y.

The treaty contained twenty-three articles, but they are too long for insertion. Suffice it to say that they were favourable to the inhabitants, and secured to them all the rights, privileges, and immunities of English subjects. Mr. Stuyvesant, the governor, refused to ratify them till after a lapse of two days.

By the terms of capitulation, the soldiers, were allowed, as well as others, to return to Holland under safe conduct. Copies of the grant to his royal highness were delivered to Mr. Stuyvesant, and the forts in New Netherlands were delivered up to the English. Col. Nicolls immediately took possession of New Amsterdam, which he called New-York.

The town of New Amsterdam, upon the reduction of the island of Manhattans, consisted of several streets, laid out in the year 1656, and was not inconsiderable for the number of its houses and inhabitants.

Colonel Nicolls then dispatched Carteret to take possession of Fort Orange, where the city of Albany now stands. At the same time, Sir Robert Carr was dispatched to South river to take possession of the country.

On the surrender of fort Orange, on the twenty-fourth of September, the English changed its name to Albany. While Carteret was at Orange, (Albany) he had an interview with the chiefs of the Agoneaseah, and entered into a league with them. Carr was equally successful on South river for the Dutch capitulated and delivered up their garrisons on the first of October, 1664.

Very few of the inhabitants removed out of the country. Even his excellency governor Stuyvesant remained, and died in the province. Smith's Hist.

The New Netherlands, at the time of the surrender, did not contain over fifteen thousand inhabitants exclusive of the Lenni Lenape, and Aganuschioni the original proprietors. Small, however, as the

number was, the foundations of four states were laid: We allude to New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware: states which at this time contain about 2,800,000 souls. This astonishing increase is not, however, altogether from the original stock, but from emigrants who have come hither from time to time. The Dutch inhabitants of the two first states are, however, very respectable in numbers, and constitute at this day, no inconsiderable proportion. Independent of extrinsic emigrations, the footing which the Dutch had was such that they could have held the country, and risen to eminence, power and opulence. To have attained these only a century or two more would have been requisite. Had no emigrants come hither, still the Dutch would have been a considerable people.

The first essays towards the formation of states are the most difficult: the Dutch had surmounted these: they were firmly established at New Amsterdam, on Long Island and Staten Island, at Esopus, Orange, Schenectady, and other places in this state; at Bergen, &c. in New Jersey; at Casimir, on the Delaware; and on the Schuylkill in Pennsylvania. They had tried strength with the natives at Horse Neck, New Amsterdam, on Long Island and Staten Island, Esopus, and other places, and had proved victorious in every contest. The Indigines had had to make ignominious peaces with them and confess their prowess.

The principal settlements of the Dutch were New Amsterdam and Harlem, on Manhatten Island; Brooklyn, Flatbush, Utrecht, Bushwick, Ulyssen, Middleburg, Hempstead, Gravesend, and Oysterbay, on Long Island; Richmond, &c. on Staten Island; Esopus, in Ulster county; Beverwick, in Albany county; and Rensselaerwick, in the same county and Rensselaer county; Schenectady, in the county of the same name; Bergen, in New Jersey; Casimer, Altona, Elfsburg, and Tinnacum in the state of Delaware; Chinssessing, now Kingsess in New Jersey; Schuylkill (Manijung) Mocopacka, &c. in Pennsylvania. The other settlements were minor and of less note. In most of these there were magistrates. Forts and block houses had been erected in all for defence and security.

New Amsterdam, it is likely, contained not far from two thousand inhabitants. New-York, in 1697, contained four thousand three hundred.

The following were the Dutch Governors of New Netherlands.

1. Wouter Van Twiller, from the year 1629 to 1637.

2. William Kieſt, from 1637 to the year 1647.

3. Peter Stuyvesant, from the year 1647 to the year 1664.

4. Anthony Colve, upon the recapture of the New Netherlands, by the Dutch, in the year 1673, governed to 1674, when the province was ceded by Holland to England.

It is intimated in a letter of governor Kieſt that Peter Minuit preceded Mr. Van Twiller. If this be true, and we see no reason to doubt it, there were then five Dutch governors.

CHAPTER XIV.

Administration of Colonel Nicolls—Reconquest of the New Netherlands by the Dutch—The New Netherlands restored by Holland to England—Administration of Colonel Lovelace—Government of Colonel Dongan, &c.

Here the Civil History of the State of New-York properly begins. The reader will remember, that thus far we have been treating of the history of the New Netherlands, which originally embraced, not only New-York; but New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Connecticut; the westerly part of Massachusetts, and all of the state of Vermont. It was necessary, however, to pursue this order, because the Dutch, the original settlers, first seated themselves at Orange, New Amsterdam, Esopus, and Schenectady in this state, and afterwards at Good Hope, Sayrook, and other places on Connecticut river, at Bergen &c. in New Jersey, at Casimir, and Christina on Delaware bay, and on Schuylkill, and South rivers; and thence, in after times spread along the banks of all those streams, and many of their collaterals, the Connecticut excepted. It was also necessary, because, no actual division of the country took place before the English came into possession. The English colonists, although they had intruded on the east, had got into possession of only a small part; the rest remained entire. After the country, however, had surrendered, a partition was made; New Jersey and other places were lopped off, while Long Island, and other islands were reunited.

New Jersey was ruled from 1664, to 1702, by governors appointed by the proprietors; and from the latter period to 1738, by the colonial governors of New-York.

Colonel Richard Nicolls, being now in possession of the New Netherlands, assumed the government, under the style of deputy

governor under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, of all his territories in America. During his short administration, he passed a great number of grants, and confirmations of the ancient Dutch patents.

Besides the chief command of the province of New-York, Nicolls had a joint power with Sir Robert Carr, Cartaret, and Maverick, to settle the contested boundaries of certain great patents. Hence, they had a conference with the governor, and commissioners of the general assembly of Connecticut, relative to Long Island, and the limits and bounds of the provinces of New-York and Connecticut. The conference was held at the city of New-York, towards the close of the year 1664. The commissioners awarded that Long Island should be reannexed to the province of New-York, and that the Sound should be the southern boundary of Connecticut, westwardly to Mamaroneck river. At the time of the award, about two-thirds of Long Island belonged to the province of Connecticut.

A great dispute between the inhabitants of Jamaica on Long Island, which was adjusted by Colonel Nicolls, on the 2d of January, 1665, gave rise to a law which has in part obtained to this day. The controversy respected Indian deeds, and thenceforth it was ordained that no purchase from the aborigines, without the governor's licence executed in his presence, should be valid. The strength and numbers of the natives, rendered it necessary to purchase their rights: and to prevent their frequent selling the same tract, it was expedient that the bargain and sale should be attended with some considerable solemnity.

Colonel Nicolls gradually introduced the English methods of government. On the 12th of June, 1665, he incorporated the inhabitants of the city of New-York under the care of a mayor, five aldermen, and a sheriff. Till this time, the city was ruled by a scout, burgomasters, and schepens. These officers answered very near to mayor, aldermen, and sheriff.

In March preceding, Colonel Nicolls summoned a convention at Hempstead on Long Island, consisting of two deputies from every town, empowered to bind their constitutents. His design was to

adjust the limits of their townships for the preservation of the public peace.

This year England declared war against Holland. The news of this event reached New-York in June. The war, however, had no effect on the province of New-York. Peace was concluded between the English and Dutch in the year 1667.

The only rencounter of any importance between the whites and the Indians on Long Island, of which we have any account from history, or tradition, is one that took place at fort Neck, on the south side of Oysterbay, which seems to have been the principa seat of the Marsapeagues.

On the 11th of June, 1666, the governor held a treaty at Hempstead with Takapausha, the Marsapeague sachem, and other tribes, by which they made peace, and submitted to the English government. This war, if it deserves that name, was of short duration, and not attended with those calamities usual in Indian warfare. Wood's Sketch.

After an administration of three years, Colonel Nicolls returned to England. Most of his time here during his stay, was taken up in confirming the ancient Dutch grants. He erected no courts of justice; but took upon himself the sole decision of all controversies. Complaints came before him by petition, and after hearing of the parties, he pronounced judgment. His determinations were called edicts. He appears to have governed with equity, and moderation.

In the infancy of the settlements, all the powers of government executive, legislative, judicial, &c. were vested in the governor and council. The governor appointed magistrates in the several towns, and villages. These had power to provide for the security of the inhabitants. The settlers, after they had become more numerous, were allowed to choose some of their magistrates, subject, however, to the approbation of the governor.

Colonel Francis Louvelace was appointed by the duke, to succeed Colonel Nicolls in the government of the province, which he began to exercise in May, 1667. As he was a man of moderation, the people lived very peaceably under him, till the reconquest of the colony.

In the year 1669, the Mohickanders, or Wabingas, made inroads into the Dutch settlements on the west side of the Hudson, comprising at present, the counties of Ulster and Orange, and committed some depredations. This led to a short war.

On the 29th of July in the same year, a battle was fought at Minisink, between the Dutch militia and the collected forces of the Mohickanders, and others, in which the latter were defeated with considerable slaughter, and had to purchase a peace. The victory, however, was not gained by the Dutch without the loss of a number of men. The inhabitants in those parts still preserve a tradition of this war, and its horror. This was the second war which the Dutch had with the Mohickanders in these parts. The latter, however, suffered so severely, that they never thereafter gave them much trouble.

At this period, the settlements in the province were very feeble, and scattered. The few cultivators at Esopus, Albany, Schenectady, and other places on the continent, resided mostly in fortified villages, and confined their tillage to the lands in the immediate vicinities.

The second Dutch war commenced in March 1672, and lasted to the 9th of February, 1674.

The French, in the year 1667, under M. Courcelles, invaded the country of the Mohawks with twent*u* companies of foot, and all the militia of Canada, together with a body of Adirondacks, &c. They took Icanderago, and other places, and laid most of the Mohawk towns and villages waste. The Mohawks in this invasion, were unable to keep the field, and had to sue for peace. These operations, however, did not affect the colony. The object of the French was to induce the Mohawks to come to peace. This they accomplished; but the peace was of short duration. The towns and villages destroyed, were between Schenectady, and Anthony's Nose.

On the 30th of July 1673, a Dutch squadron of five ships of war, under commodores Everts, and Benkes, entered New-York bay, and came up, and moored under the fort. They immediately debarked their troops, and entered it without opposition. A council of war was afterwards held at the State House, by commodores

Everts, and Benkes, and captains Colves, Bowes, and Van Zyll.

All the magistrates from East Jersey, Long Island, Esopus, and Albany, were summoned to New-York. On their arrival, the greater part swore allegiance to the States General, and the prince of Orange. Colonel Lovelace was ordered to depart the province, but afterwards obtained leave to return to England with commodore Benkes. The provinces of New-York and New Jersey submitted. Deputies came from South river, and tendered their submission. Three judicatories were erected, to wit: New Amstel, Upland, and Hoerkill.

On the 12th of August, 1673, commodores Evertse and Benkes, appointed captain Anthony Colve, governor general of the provinces. Colve enjoyed his office but a very short time; for on the 9th of February: 1674, a treaty of peace was concluded between England and Holland, whereby the provinces were restored to the English.

October, 19th 1673, Anthony Colve sent William Knyff, and Anthony Malepart, to the English towns on Long Island, to require them to take the oath of allegiance. The western towns submitted on the 25th of the same month, the governor sent William Knyff and Nicholas Vos to the English towns, to induce them to take the oath of allegiance. On the 30th, he dispatched Cornelius Steenwyck and two others to the eastern towns. They sailed down the Sound as far as Shelter Island, where they fell in with Samuel Wyllis, and captain Winthorp, who had been sent out to the island by Connecticut. The Dutch commissioners visited Southold, where they found the people assembled in arms. They refused to submit, and the commissioners had to return without effecting the object of their mission.

Governor Colve then undertook to reduce them by force; but Connecticut assisted them to repel the attempt. See Wood's Sketch.

Trumbull, in his history of Connecticut, states, that the Dutch threatened them with destruction by fire and sword, unless they would submit, and swear allegiance to the States General: that

they sent ships, and an armed force, and made several descents; but were repulsed, and obliged to re-embark.

During the administration of Colonel Lovelace, a court called the court of Assizes was established. It was a court both of law and equity, and had cognisance of causes of twenty pounds, and upwards. Subordinate to it, were the town courts and sessions; the former had jurisdiction over actions under five pounds: and the latter, between that sum and twenty pounds. Seven constables, and the overseers were judges in the first: and in the last, the justices of the peace, with a jury of seven men. The verdict of the majority was sufficient. The legislative power was vested in the governor and council. The code of laws which the duke made for the province, may be seen in the first volume of the New-York Historical collection.

Upon the conclusion of the war in 1674, the duke, to remove all controversy respecting his property in the provinces, obtained a new patent from the king, on the 29th of June, for the same lands which had been granted to him in the year 1664. Two days after, he commissioned Major Edmond Andross, to be governor of his territories in America.

The Dutch governor, Mr. Colve, on the 31st of October following, resigned to him the provinces.

His administration is marked by a clerical controversy, which occurred between two ministers at Albany, and by his imprisoning Philip Carteret, governor of East Jersey.

In the former, he entered with considerable zeal, and imprisoned several persons; but the incidents seem too inconsiderable to trouble the reader with them. The main course of his public proceedings, during his continuance in the province, was spent in the ordinary acts of government, which then principally consisted in passing grants to the subjects, and presiding in the courts of assize. The public exigencies were now in part supplied by a kind of voluntary contributions.

The Indians on Long Island, were desirous of assisting their brethren on the continent, in the war of king Philip; but governor Andross prevented it, by seizing all their canoes east of Hell-Gate.

The seizure was on the 13th of December, 1675. He ordered that all canoes found after that day in the Sound, should be destroyed. This measure deprived them of the means of crossing the Sound, and effectually prevented them from lending any assistance to the hostile Indians.

Since that period, no danger seems to have been apprehended from the Indians on Long Island. See Wood's Sketch.

The duke of York appointed Colonel Thomas Dongan to the goverment of the province of New-York, on the 30th day of September, 1682; but he did not arrive before the 27th of August, 1683.

He was a man of integrity and moderation, and strove to promote the interest and happiness of the colony. The people first participated in the legislative power, under his mild administration. This constitutes an important era in the annals of the state. Collonel Dongan, shortly after his arrival, issued orders to the sheriffs to summon the freeholders to choose representatives to meet him in assembly, on the 17th of October, 1683.

This was the first legislative meeting ever had in the state, and was held at the city of New-York. From that time to the present, the people, with some particular exceptions, have partaken largely in the government; and it is owing in a great measure to this circumstance, that the state has risen to that height which it now holds.

The Agoneaseah, about this time committed hostilities on the frontier settlers of Maryland, and Virginia.

This occasioned a grand convention at Albany, in the year 1684. Lord Howard, the governor of Virginia, was present at this convention, and made a covenant with the Agoneasean chiefs for the preventing further depredations. In the accomplishment of this, Colonel Dongan was very instrumental. To such as desire to see this convenant, we refer them to Dr. Colden's History of the Agoneaseah: (a very scarce work.) The chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, were present. These tribes at that time constituted the nation.

De la Barre, the governor of Canada, about the same time, crossed lake Ontario from fort Frontenac (now Kingston) in Upper

Canada, with an army, and landed at a place called by the French, La Famine,* some where at, or near the mouth of Great Salmon river, and concluded a treaty with the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas. The Mohawks and Senecas refused to treat.

In 1686, Colonel Dongan sent a protest to M. de Nonville, the successor of De la Barre. In this, he signified to him that he should consider the invasion of the country of the Agoneaseah by the French, as tantamount to a declaration of war, and forbid him to erect a fort at Niagara, as being within the province. De Nonville, in answer, disclaimed the invasion, and stated, that he had no intention of erecting a fort at Niagara.

In the beginning of August, 1687, Colonel Dongan met the Agoneasean chiefs at Albany, and made a speech to them. He advised them not to treat with the French, without consulting him; not to kill their prisoners: but to exchange them for their own people; to dispatch messengers to the Indians, with whom they were then at war, and propose peace, and bury the tomahawk; telling them at the same time, that whatever things they wanted hereafter, the English would let them have, upon cheaper terms than the French.

A little before the above meeting, De Nonville invaded the country of the Senecas, with two thousand French and six hundred Indians, and destroyed several of their towns and villages. About five hundred Senecas engaged the advanced guard, about twenty miles up Genesee river, but were defeated with the loss of one hundred and five killed, wounded, and prisoners. The action was fought at or near Kanawageres, one of the chief villages of the Senecas. It is on the west side of Genesee river, twelve or fourteen miles southerly of Rochester.

In this expedition the French built a small fort at Niagara, in which they left one hundred men under de la Troye.

Col. Dongan, in his interview with the Aganuschienian chiefs at Albany, seems to have acted with an overheated zeal in rousing the passions of this ferocious people against the French. Probably not being much acquainted with the savage character, he did not foresee the consequences. The innocent inhabitants of Canada and New-York soon became the sufferers. Not long after a party of

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* The French called Great Salmon river, La Famine.

Mohawks, with some Mohickanders, their dependents, entered Canada, beset Chambly, burnt several houses, murdered some of the inhabitants. and led others into captivity.

In 1688, Col. Dongan endeavoured to dissuade the Aganuschioni, from making peace with the French. A kind of peace, however, was made, but it was of short continuance. The Dinondadies, an appendage of the Hurons, had inclined to the English trade at Michilimackinack, and their alliance was therefore become suspected by the French. Adario, called by the French Le Rat, was their chief. With a policy similar to that of civilized nations, he wished to derive advantages to his own tribe by a prevention of peace between the French and Agoneaseah.

To effect this purpose, he put himself at the head of one hundred warriors and marched to intercept the Agoneasean ambassadors, who were repairing to Montreal to perfect the peace lately began with the French. At one of the falls of the St. Lawrence river he fell in with them, killed some, and took others prisoners, and informed them that it was the French governor that had given him intelligence that fifty of their warriors were coming that way.

As the Dinondadies and the Agoneaseah were then at war, the ambassadors were astonished at the perfidy of the French governor, and could not help communicating the design of their journey. Adario counterfeited the utmost distress, anger and shame, at being made the ignominious instrument of the French governor's treachery: and then addressing himself to Dekanesora the principal of the embassy, he said, "Go, my brethren, I untie your bonds and send you home again, though our nation be at war. The French governor has induced me to commit so black an action, that I can never be easy till the Agoneaseah shall have taken full revenge."

This outrage and indignity upon the rights of ambassadors, the truth of which they did not in the least doubt, animated the Agoneaseah to the keenest thirst after revenge. Accordingly, twelve hundred of their warriors assembled, and agreed upon making an irruption into Canada. On the 26th of June, 1688, they landed on the island of Montreal, while the French were in perfect security, burnt their houses, sacked their plantations, and put to death nearly

all the men, women and children, whom they came across. The number amounted to one thousand, if the historian Smith is to be believed; and three hundred, if Charlevoix gives a correct account. That the former has exaggerated the French loss, we are disposed to believe, because in almost every thing relating to that people he seems to have laboured under the strongest prejudices. The loss, however, was severe, and the attack unexpected.

In the month of October, they made another descent on the same island, and took some prisoners.

Numerous marauding parties of the Agoneaseah continually, for some time after, infested their borders, and prevented them from the cultivation of their lands. This occasioned a famine, and well nigh proved fatal to the colony. Nothing but the ignorance of the assailants, in attacking fortified places, saved Canada from ruin.

Dongan has been very highly complimented by his countrymen, for his interference with the affairs of the Agoneaseah, and for his endeavouring to prevent them from treating with the French, with whom they were at war. But these compliments might as well have been dispensed with. Humanity required a different course: the French cultivators of Canada desired peace: their governors laboured for a long time, before they obtained it. The English governors and traders were opposed: they averred that it would be ruinous to the colony—subsequent events, however, have disproved it.

After the French had subdued the Agoneaseah, and compelled them to treat, there was an uninterrupted tranquility for nearly sixty years; during which time they did not excite them to commit depredations on our exposed frontiers.

The peace was equally advantageous to the inhabitants of both colonies. It was during this peace that settlements were extended on the Hudson northwardly to Saratoga; and on the Mohawk westwardly to the mouth of Fulmer creek. Schoharie was colonized in the same period.

The Agoneaseah observed a strict neutrality. When the English attempted to stimulate them to war they declined. "We," say they, "want peace. It is not our interest to engage in the contests between England and France. We desire commerce with

both nations, but we will have nothing to do with their disputes They must settle these between themselves. The French and English are both our friends: why should we wish to injure either? Why should we break with the one because the other desires it? Could we be benefitted by quarrelling with our friends and shedding their blood? Englishmen and Frenchmen are dear to us:—they bring us guns, ammunition, and hatchets, to hunt with; these we stand in need of. They do well—we pay them. We wish the trade of both nations—it is to our advantage. We can buy cheaper and sell dearer, because these nations compete with each other. English traders, and French traders, care nothing about us beyond their interests; and if we can have them arrayed one against the other, with their strong national prejudices, we shall be able to purchase from them on better terms; since the traders of both nations are guided entirely by interest."

Such were the reasonings of the unlettered Agoneaseah. The merchants of these nations occasioned most of the differences.

While these scenes were going on in Canada, disaffection to the government was growing up in the province of New-York. Some papists had settled in the colony, under the auspices of Col. Dongan. A latin school had been opened in New-York, and the teacher was strongly suspected, by the bigots of the times, of being attached to the doctrines of Rome. The people of Long Island, who had more fanaticism than religion, had become the personal enemies of the governor. The whole body trembled for the protestant cause, as though there could not be dupes here as well as elsewhere.

The intelligence from England, of the designs there in favour of the prince of Orange, fanned the coals of discontent here, and elevated the hopes of the demagogues of faction.

Among the discontented, Jacob Leisler, a merchant, was the most active. He was a man in considerable esteem among the people, but illy qualified to head a faction. Millborne his son-in-law, an Englishman, controuled all his councils.

Bent upon mischief, the first thing they contrived, was to sieze the garrison in New-York. Colonel Dongan, who was about to leave the province, then lay embarked in the bay, having a little

before resigned the government to Francis Nicholson the lieutenant-governor. It may not be out of place to mention here, that it was customary to guard the infant city of New-York, every night with militia, in order to prevent attacks, and surprisals, from the Mohiccons and Wabingas, who still viewed this place with envy, and as the centre of the power of the strangers.

The council, civil officers, and magistrates of the city, who seem to have had more discretion than Leisler and his deluded followers, were opposed to him. Leisler, however, having got possession of the fortress, issued a declaration in favor of the prince of Orange; but the people were still not determined how to act. On the one hand, they were importuned by Leisler, and on the other, menaced by the constituted authorities. While laboring under importunities and menaces, Leisler caused a report to be circulated, that three ships were coming up with orders from the prince of Orange. This report although false, subserved his purpose: for on that day, it being the third of June, 1689, he was joined by six companies of New-York militia, amounting to four hundred men, and a company of seventy men from East Chester. Nicholson and the magistrates being unable to resist, had to abscond.

Leisler now in possession of the fort, the city and government sent home an address to king William, and queen Mary as soon as he had received the news of their accession to the throne. This address was soon followed by a private letter to king William, which informed him of the state of the garrison, and the temper of the people, and concluded with strong professions of loyalty. Jost Stoll an ensign, delivered this letter to the king; but Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, and one Ennis a clergyman, had arrived before him in England, and made an untrue misrepresentation of the late proceedings in New-York, so that Leisler and his party missed the rewards which their over-strained zeal had promised them.

Leisler's sudden investiture with supreme power over the province, excited the envy and jealousy of the late magistrates. Colonel Bayard, and Courtlandt, the mayor of the city were at the head of his opponents; but finding it impossible to raise a party against him in the city, they retired to Albany, and there fomented the opposition against him.

Leisler on the other hand, fearful of their influence, and to extinguish the jealousy of the people, thought it expedient to admit several trusty persons to a participation of that power which the militia had committed to him.

In conjunction with these, he exercised the government, assuming to himself only the honour of president. This model continued till the month of December, when a letter from the English government was brought in a packet, directed to Nicholson, or to such as for the time being had the charge of the province.

Nicholson being absconded when the letter came, Leisler considered it as directed to himself, and from this time issued all kinds of commissions in his own name; assuming the title and authority of lieutenant-governor. On the 11th of December, he summoned the committee of safety, and swore the following persons for his council:—Peter Delanoy, Samuel Staats, Hendrick Jansen, and Johannes Vermilie, for New-York; Gerardus Beekman, for Kings county; Samuel Edsel, for Queens; Thomas Williams, for West-chester; and William Lawrence, for Orange.

Except the eastern inhabitants of Long Island, all the southern part of the colony submitted to Leisler. The latter in the end also submitted. The people of Albany, in the meantime were determined to hold the city for king William, and on the 26th of October, which was before the packet arrived, formed themselves into a convention for that purpose. A resolution was passed to keep and preserve the city of Albany for their majesties. A protest was also entered against Leisler and his adherents.

Nothing could have been more foolish than the conduct of both parties. Each was in favour of the revolution. Both professed loyalty to their majesties—and yet they were violently opposed to each other. Prudence ought to have dictated to the Albanians submission till the pleasure of their majesties was known. The peace of the province ought to have prevented Leisler from coercion. Bayard, Schuyler, Courtlandt, and others, were headstrong, passionate, and vindictive; they would not submit to a man whom they supposed inferior to themselves. Leisler could not brook opposition. Animated by these principles so dangerous to the peace, welfare, and happiness of society, both parties prepared, the

one to retain the city and garrison, and the others to reduce them. Jacob Milborne was commissioned for the reduction of Albany. Upon his arrival there some of the inhabitants armed themselves, and repaired to the fort then commanded by Mr. Schuyler, while others followed the other members of the convention to a conference with him at the city hall. Milborne, to proselyte the people, declaimed much against king James popery and arbitrary power: but his oratory was lost upon the hearers, who still adhered to the convention. Milborne then advanced with a few men to the fort and entered it. Schuyler soon after departed from Albany.

In the following spring Milborne made a second expedition against Albany: the garrison surrendered, and the members of the convention fled. He arbitrarily seized and confiscated their effects, which highly exasperated the sufferers.

In the midst of these intestine commotions, the people of New England were engaged in a war with the Owenagungas, Ourages. and Penecooks. Between these and the Schakooks* (probably Schauwunks on Hoosack river) there was a friendly communication; and the same was suspected of the Mohawks, among whom some of the Owenagungas had taken sanctuary.

This gave rise to a conference between several commissioners from Boston, Plymouth, and Connecticut, and the Aganuschioni, at Albany, in September, 1689. The former endeavoured to engage the latter against those Indians who were then at war with New England. Tahajadoris, a Mohawk Sachem answered the English message. The conference did not meet the expectation of the commissioners: the Aganuschioni declined to join in hostilities against their eastern brethren. They however assured them that they were ready and disposed to distress the French.

When pressed to engage in war against the Eastern Indians, the

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* The Moheakanneews originally possessed the counties of Columbia and Rensselaer, and the southerly part of Washington. They inhabited the eastern margin of Hudson's river, the banks of Hosack river, and those of Kinderhook and Claverack creeks. The Schakooks, it is presumable, lived at Schaticoke, on Hosack river, and the adjoining parts. The principal seat of the tribe called Moheakanneews was on the Housatonuck, at Stockbridge, in the state of Massachusetts.—See my Tabular Views of the Moheakanneew and Huron nations.

Agoneaseah replied that it was not their custom to go to war with any people from whom they had received no injury: that they were then engaged in a war with the French, the common enemy: and that they believed it would be the best policy for the English colonies first to assist them in subduing that enemy. This not a little surprised the commissioners. From it they learned that the Agoneaseah understood their own interest and affairs, and that they were disposed to pursue a policy not unlike the English.

De Callieres, who went to France in 1688, projected a scheme for the reduction of the province of New-York, but the plan miscarried.

The force demanded for this enterprise was one thousand three hundred regulars, and three hundred Canadians. Albany was said to contain only three hundred inhabitants, and to be fortified by an inclosure of stockades, and a little fort with four bastions, and that it contained but one hundred and fifty soldiers. New-York was represented to contain about four thousand persons.

In 1689, the count de Frontenac the governor of Canada, proposed peace to the Aganuschioni who called a grand council at Onondaga. The chiefs, from the several tribes, convened to the number of eighty, about the 22nd of January, 1690. The people of Albany were notified but did not attend. Sadekanaghtie an Onondaga chief, opened the conference. According to the French accounts, the whole was managed with great art, and formality, and concluded in showing a disposition to make peace with them without perfecting it.

Among other measures to detach the Agoneaseah from the British interest, and to raise the depressed spirit of the Canadians, count de Frontenac thought proper to send out several parties against the English colonies. D. Aillebout, de Mantel and Le Moyne, commanded one against Schenectady, consisting of about two hundred French, and fifty Mohawks belonging to the Caughnawaga clan.

The people of Schenectady, though they had been informed of the designs of the enemy, were in the greatest security; imagining it impossible for any men to march several hundred miles in the midst of winter, through the snow, bearing their provisions on their backs.

After a march of twenty-two days, the enemy reached the vicinity of Schenectady, on the 8th of February, 1690, and were reduced to such straits that they thought of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. But their scouts, who were a day or two in the village, returned with sech favourable accounts of the absolute security of the people, that they determined on the attack. They entered on Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, at the gates, which were found unshut; and that every house might be invested at the same time, divided themselves into small parties of six or seven men. The inhabitants were in a profound sleep, and unalarmed till their doors were broke open. Before they were risen from their beds the enemy entered and began the work of death. The whole village was instantly in a blaze. Sixty persons were killed, and twenty-seven carried into captivity. The rest fled, naked, towards Albany, through a deep snow, which fell that night in a terrible storm; and twenty-five of these fugitives lost their limbs in the flight through the severity of the cold.

Te news of this dreadful tragedy reached Albany about break of day. An universal dread seized the inhabitants. A party of horse was immediately dispatched to Schenectady. The enemy, in the mean time, pillaged the town till noon the next day; and then went off with their plunder, and about forty of the best horses. The rest, with all the cattle they could find, lay slaughtered in the streets. Several women and children were released, at the instance of capt. Glen, on the score of his wife's civilities to certain French captives, in the time of Col. Dongan.

A party of Albanians and Mohawks pursued the enemy in his retreat and either killed or captivated five and twenty.

The taking and burning of Schenectady had such an effect upon the people of Albany, that they were almost on the point of abandoning it.

In this state, bordering upon despair, several of the Mohawk chiefs arrived, and urged them to stay. They addressed them affectionately, recommended a union of the colonies, and a perseverance in the war. In their native simplicity they say, "the French have broken open our house at both ends; formerly in the Seneca country, and now here." This expression had reference to enter-

See Smith's Hist. of N. Y. Also Williams' Hist. of Vermont.

ing both ends of their country. Haughgoghnuchshionee, in their language, meant a long house; a great many fires. This was the name of their country. Aganuschioni is of the same import. Haughgoghnuchshionee, the long house with many fires, was broken into at both ends.

The French, in this expedition, set out from Chambly, on Sorel, and proceeded up lake Champlain to Wood-creek, or the head of South-bay, from whence they crossed over to the Hudson, at Sandy Hill, and then went down that river on the ice to Saratoga. Here they left it, and marched through the woods to Schenectady. Most of the way was on the ice. The advance went forward on snow shoes. The main followed their trail. Incredible were the hardships suffered by this veteran band.

Another detachment under the Sieur Hertel, set out from Three rivers, and succeeded in destroying the fort at Salmon falls in New Hampshire, on the 18th of March; thirty-four were killed, and fifty-four, chiefly women and children, were led into captivity.

The success that attended these expeditions, was very favorable to the views of count Frontenac, and served to revive the drooping spirits of the Canadians. At the same time, they occasioned an alarm in the provinces of New-York, and New England: and it was apparent, that unless they could be repressed, much greater injuries would be received.

In order to concert measures for the common defence, it was proposed that there should be a meeting of commissioners from all the colonies of New England, and the province of New-York. Agreeably to this proposition, commissioners assembled at the city of New-York, on the first day of May, 1690.

At this meeting, it was the unanimous opinion of all present, that there could be no permanent peace in the colonies, till the French in Canada were subdued; that the only effectual way would be to engage upon an expedition for this purpose. To effect the conquest of Canada, they agreed upon this plan of operations; that eight or nine hundred colonists, with five or six hundred of the Agoneaseah and Moheakanneews, should march by the way of lake Champlain, and make an assault upon Montreal; while a fleet and army of eighteen hundred men should go up the river St. Law-

rence, and make an attack upon Quebec at the same time. By thus penetrating into the heart of the country, and carrying the war to their two capitols: it was supposed, that the forces of the enemy would be so divided, as to afford a fair prospect of success.

A vessel had been sent to England in the beginning of April, with a representation of the exposed state of the colonies of New-York and New England, and the necessity of reducing Canada; and earnestly requesting a supply of arms and ammunition, and that a number of frigates might be dispatched to aid in the attack from the sea; while the colonial forces, and their allies, should invade the country on the side of Montreal.

The English, however, were in no situation at this juncture, to afford the solicited aids. Not disheartened by the failure of aids from England, the colonies determined to prosecute the expeditions themselves.

Massachusetts agreed to fit out the force that was to proceed to Quebec; while New-York and Connecticut engaged to furnish the army that was to advance against Montreal.

The troops of New-York and Connecticut, were put under the command of John Winthrop, Esquire, of the latter province, with the rank of Major general.

Early in the month of August, general Winthrop arrived with the troops under his command, near the falls on Wood creek, hard by fort Ann. This was the place appointed for the rendezvous of the Agoneaseah. But instead of finding a large body of warriors, as he expected, there were not over seventy Mohawks and Oneidas. A messenger had been sent to the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, to prevail upon them to send on their warriors; but they did not come forward to join the army. When the general had proceeded about one hundred miles, he discovered that there were not batteaux or canoes, provided sufficient to transport one-half of the army, and that the commissary had not procured supplies of provisions for the forces. The Agoneaseah who were with him, told him, that it was too late in the season to make canoes; and that it would be the best for him not to attempt Montreal; but direct his attacks against Chambly, and the French settlements on this side of the St. Lawrence. Discouraged with the obstacles before him,

General Winthrop called a council of war, at which it was resolved, that the army should return to Albany. Preparatory to his return, he detached one hundred and forty men, to make a diversion in favor of the fleet.

The army of Gen. Winthrop first opened a road from the navigable part of Hudson's river, to Wood creek, which runs into the head of lake Champlain. The army upon its return, wintered at Albany.

Cotton Mather says: In regard to this expedition, there was a horrid mismanagement in the west; for one thousand English from New-York, Albany, and Connecticut, with fifteen hundred Indians, were to have gone over land, and fallen upon Mount Royal, (we suppose Montreal:) while the fleet was to visit Quebec, and no expedition could have been better laid than this; which was thus contrived;—but the English companies in the west, marching as far as the great lake, (Champlain:) that was to be passed, found their canoes not provided according to expectation; and the Indians, (Agoneaseah) were [how, God knows, and will one day judge] dissuaded from joining with the English; and the army met with such discouragements, that they retured. Had the western army done but so much as continued at the lake, the diversion thereby given to the French quartered at Mount Royal, would have rendered the conquest of Canada easy and certain. But the governor of Canada being informed of the retreat, had time to get the whole strength of the country into the city of Quebec, before the fleet could come up to it.

About the same time, August the ninth, that general Winthrop set out for Albany, the fleet sailed from Boston, for Quebec. It consisted of between thirty and forty vessels, the largest of forty-four guns, and the whole number of men about two thousand. Sir William Phips, the governor of Massachusetts, had the chief command. The fleet had a long passage from Boston, and did no arrive before Quebec, till the fifth of October.

From the lateness of the season, and the retreat of general Winthrop's army, Sir William Phips would have had little prospect of success. Count Frontenac had advanced with nearly all his forces to Montreal, to defend that part of the country against

the army which was advancing by the way of lake Champlain. No sooner, however, had he received advice by his scouts, that the colonial army of New-York and Connecticut had returned to Albany, than he retraced his steps with the greatest dispatch to Quebec, and arrived there before the fleet had come to anchor.

The Baron Le Hontain, a French officer, who was then at Quebec, gives this account of the proceedings; that Count Frontenac was at Montreal, when he heard that the fleet was in the river: and had Sir William Phips made a descent before his arrival at Quebec, or two days after, he would have carried the place without any contest, as there were not two hundred French in the city, and it was open, and exposed in every part; but that he lost the opportunity, by spending three days in consultation before he came to any determination how to act.

On the eighth of October, the troops were landed, amounting to twelve or thirteen hundred men, and advanced towards the city. The garrison was summoned to surrender; but refused. The next day the ships were drawn up before the town, and cannonaded it with all their force; but were repulsed with considerable loss. On the eleventh, the troops were re-embarked. They had advanced and maintained their ground with spirit; but they received such accounts of the strength of the French, from a deserter, as discouraged them from any further attempts. In a few days, tempestuous weather came on, which drove some of the vessels from anchor, and dispersed the whole fleet; they therefore had to make the best of their way to Boston, where they arrived on the nineteenth of November.

Such was the end of the first expedition against Canada. The plan was well concerted, although premature, and depended for its success on the joint operations of the forces under general Winthrop and Sir William Phips. Unfortunately both set out too late in the season to have done much had they possessed the requisite talents. But neither General Winthrop nor Sir William Phips, although both natives of New England, possessed information of the enemy's country, nor had they talents adequate to such enterprises. The land and naval forces employed under them amounted to three

thousand men—a force every way competent to have effected the conquest, had it been properly directed.

During this year, small parties of the Agoneaseah made frequent incursions into Canada. One of these fell upon a party of French and Adirondacks and others, in the St. Lawrence, about one hundred and twenty miles above Montreal, under the command of captain Louvigni who was going to Michilimackinack, and killed several. Another party made a descent on the island of Montreal, at Point au Tremble, and killed one officer an twelve men. A third party carried off fifteen prisoners, taken at Riviere Puantz, whom they butchered, under an apprehension of their being retaken.

CHAPTER XV.

Arrival of Colonel Slaughter—His government, &c.—Leisler refuses to deliver up the government to him.—His arrest, trial and execution.—Arbitrary measures pursued against the adherents of Leisler.—Meeting of the Assembly.—Abrogation of certain laws.—Servility of the members of the house.—An act confirmatory of grants passed.—Erection of the Supreme Court, &c.—Supplies voted—Disaffection of the Agoneaseah, &c.—Death of Col. Slaughter.—Capt. Ingolsby succeeds him as President of the Province.—Expedition of Beaucour against the Senecas.—In August, 1692, *Ingolsby succeeded by Col. Fletcher.—The Province has to rely on its own resources for defence.—The French invade the Mohawk Canton, and captivate three hundred Mohawks, &c.—Bigotry of Fletcher.—Law making provision for the ministers of the church of England.—In* 1695, *an agent employed to reside near the court of St. James, &c.—Count Frontenac invades the Onondaga Canton, &c.*

While the war continued to rage with unabated fury between the colonies of England and France, and their savage allies, in this quarter of the globe, Colonel Henry Sloughter, who had been commissioned governor of the province of New-York, on the fourth of January, 1689, arrived here, and published his appointment on the 19th of March, 1691.

Never was a governor more necessary to the province, than at this critical conjuncture; as well for reconciling a divided people, as for defending them against the enemy. But a man was sent over utterly destitute of every qualification for government, licentious in his morals, avaricious and poor.

Leisler refused to deliver up the garrison and government to him, when required, but shut himself up in the fort with Bayard and Nicholson, whom he had before imprisoned. On the second de-

mand of the fort, Milborne and Delanoy came out, under pretence of conferring with the new governor, but in reality to discover his designs. Colonel Sloughter, who considered them as rebels threw them both into goal. Leisler, upon this event, thought proper to abandon the fort, which Sloughter immediately entered. Bayard and Nicholson were now released from their confinement.

Leisler, having thus ruined his cause, was apprehended with many of his adherents, and a commission of oyer and terminer issued to Sir Thomas Robinson, Colonel Smith, and others, for their trial. In vajn did they plead the merit of their zeal for king William, since they had so lately opposed his governor. Leisler, in particular, endeavoured to justify his conduct, insisting that lord Nottingham's letter entitled him to act in the quality of lieutenant-governor. Whether it was through ignorance or sycophancy, I know not, but the judges instead of pronouncing their own sentiments upon this part of the prisoner's defence, refered it to the governor and his council, praying their opinion. The answer was as might have been expected, in the negative; and Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne were condemned to death for high treason. These were the first trials and convictions ever had in the province on charges of high treason: and both were unjust. See Smith's His. N. Y.

No treason had been committed. Leisler was a weak man, and had abused that power which he had got, but, after all, he ought not to have suffered death. His opponents were equally weak and would have made the same use of power as he did, had it but fallen into their hands. The leaders of both parties desired the government, but both could not be gratified. There were not offices enough without impoverishing the infant colony to gratify the avarice of all.

The arbitrary course pursued against Leisler and his adherents, drove many of the inhabitants into the neighbouring colonies, which shortly after occasioned the passing of an act of indemnity. Smith's His. N. Y.

From the surrender of the province, in 1664, to the year 1683, the inhabitants were ruled by the duke's governors and their councils, who from time to time made rules and orders, which were es-

teemed to be as binding as laws. These laws may now be seen in the first volume of the New-York Historical Collection.

Those acts which were made in 1683, and after the duke's accession to the throne, when the people were admitted to a participation of the legislative power are for the most part lost. Few minutes relating to them remain on the council books, and none in the journals of the house.

On the 20th of March, 1691, colonel Sloughter issued writs of summons for the meeting of the Assembly, on the 9th day of April, in the following month. This was the first assembly after the revolution. The province contained ten counties: to wit, the city and county of New-York, the city and county of Albany, Ulster, Orange, Dutchess, Westchester, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Dukes. The number of members was seventeen. They met pursuant to notice.

The members for Queens county, being quakers, were dismissed for refusing to take the oaths directed by the governor's commission.

James Graham was elected Speaker. The majority of the members were against the measures which Leisler pursued in the latter part of his time. They unanimously resolved that his dissolving the late convention, and imprisoning several persons, seizing their effects, and those of others, and his levying money, were all illegal, and that he had been guilty of rebellion. The house, having by these agreeable resolves prepared the way for their access to the governor, addressed him in a very adulatory manner.

Before the house passed any acts, it unanimously resolved, "that all the laws consented to by the general assembly, under the duke of York, and the liberties and privileges therein contained, granted to the people, and declared to be their rights, not being observed nor ratified by his royal highness and the late king, are null and void: and also the several ordinances made by the late governors and councils being contrary to the constitution of England, and the practice of the government of their majesties other plantations in America are likewise null and void."

Among the laws enacted at this session we will mention the following. One establishing a revenue, which was afterwards drawn

into precedent, and became a source of much controversy between some of the governors and legislatures.

The sums raised by it were made payable into the hands of the receiver-general, and issued by the governor's warrant. By this means the governor became, for a season, independent of the people: hence it was in his power to discharge the debts of private persons, contracted on the faith of government or not as suited his caprice.

Antecedent to the revolution there were controversies relating to public townships and private rights: and hence an act was passed, confirming unto the cities, towns, manors, and freeholders, their several grants, patents, and rights respectively. This was done for the purpose of putting an end to those controversies.

A law, establishing courts of judicature in the cities, counties, and towns, for two years, was passed: although a perpetual act had been made to that purpose in 1683, and the old court of assize abolished in 1684.

Under this act the Supreme Court was created. It consisted of a chief justice and four assistant judges, with an attorney-general. The chief justice, Joseph Dudley, had a salary of one hundred and thirty pounds; Johnson, the second judge, had one hundred pounds; William Smith, Stephen Van Courtlandt, and Pinhorne, the other judges, and Newton, the attorney-general, had nothing.

An act for settling the militia passed. Two thousand pounds were voted for one hundred fuzileers, who were to be employed for the defence of the northern frontiers.

A law declaratory of the rights and privileges of the province was also passed—but it was repealed by king William, in 1697. This act was repealed because it declared that the province had a right to be represented in assembly.

The British court, at this early period, although it allowed its American colonies to have legislatures, intended that these bodies should be wholly dependent upon the mother country. All laws passed on this side of the ocean were subject to revision and repeal at any time. This kept the colonies in absolute dependence.

The abortive attempts of the colonies to conquer Canada, in the

preceding year, made a very unfavourable impression on the minds of the Agoneaseah. The Mohawks, in particular, at the instance of the Caughnawagas, one of their clans who had migrated to Canada, dispatched a messenger to count Frontenac to sue for peace. Upon learning this intelligence, Colonel Sloughter, in order to prevent it, repaired to Albany in June, where he had an interview with the Agoneasean chiefs, who seem to have been highly pleased with his excellency. They told him that their ancestors, as they had been informed, were greatly surprised at the arrival of the first ship in the country, and were very solicitous of knowing what was in its huge belly. That upon examination they had found Christians in its belly, and one Jacques, with whom they made a chain of friendship, which they had preserved to this day. All the cantons of the Agoneaseah, except the Mohawk, assured him of their resolution to prosecute the war against the French. The ancient league was renewed.

Sloughter soon after returned to New-York, where he died very suddenly, on the 23d of July, 1691.

This summer, Major Schuyler with some volunteers, and a party of Mohawks, passed through lake Champlain, and made an irruption into Canada, and devastated some of the French settlements on the Sorel. M. D. Callieres, the governor of Montreal, to oppose him, collected a small army, and encamped at La Prairie. Several skirmishes took place between the hostile parties, and in these, it is said, that Schuyler slew about three hundred of the enemy, a number which exceeded that of his own force, a thing not at all likely. Major Schuyler's design in this incursion, was to reanimate the Mohawks, and preserve their enmity against the French. They accordingly, with the other members of the nation, continued their hostilities, making numerous inroads into Canada, and keeping the country in constant alarm.

In the midst of these distresses, the gallant count Frontenac preserved his sprightliness and vigor, animating every body about him. He was at this time about seventy years old. After he had served himself, the Utawawas who came to trade at Montreal, he sent them home under the care of a captain, and one hundred and ten men; and to secure their attachment to the French interest, he

gave them presents, and sent others by them to the western Indians, who were in alliance with them.

At the time of Sloughter's decease, the government devolved according to the act declaring the rights of the people, on the council in which Jacob Dudley had a right to preside; but they committed the chief command to Richard Ingolsby, a captain of an independent company, who was sworn into the office of president, on the 26th of July, 1691.

Ingolsby was a man of very moderate talents: he had, however, been active in accomplishing Leisler's ruin, which was a sufficient recommendation.

The assembly, on the 30th of September in the same year, voted fifteen hundred pounds for the payment of one hundred and fifty men, who were to be employed on the frontiers of Albany county, in addition to those already in service.

At this session, the province was divided into twelve counties. We have already mentioned ten of these. Duke's and Cornwall have since been detached. The former contained the island of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth island &c., and No-man's-land. The latter Pemaquid, and all the territories in those parts, with the adjacent islands.

In the winter of 1692, M. Beaucour marched a body of about three hundred men, to attack the Agoneaseah at the isthmus or straits of Niagara. Incredible were the fatigues and hardships which this veteran band underwent, in this long march over the snow, bearing their provisions on their backs, through woods and trackless deserts. Eighty of the Agoneaseah opposed them, and bravely maintained their ground, until they were mostly cut off.

In June, president Ingolsby met the chiefs of the Agoneaseah at Albany, and exhorted them to persevere in the war. The chief sachem in reply, said, "brother Corlear, we are all subjects of one great king and queen: we have one head, one heart, one interest, and are all engaged in the same war."

Colonel Benjamin Fletcher arrived with the commission of Governor, on the 29th of August, 1692.

Colonel Fletcher brought over with him a present to the colony, of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, which were very much

needed at this time. The whole number of men capable of bearing arms, did not exceed three thousand, and those were reduced to great poverty, owing to unremitting duty. The exposed situation of the settlements, the numbers of the natives, and the war with France, occasioned frequent drafts. For defence, the colony had to depend solely on its own resources. It had not yet obtained sufficient consideration to attract the notice of the English government. The people were few in number, and poor. The whole population could not have surpassed twenty thousand, and this was dispersed in a few towns and villages, which in general were remote from each other.

The seas and bays of the province, as well as those of the other provinces, were about this time infested with pirates, and privateer's men.

On the 10th of September, 1692, an act was passed for restraining and punishing them; but it was never enforced, as some of the officers of government were concerned with them.

Provision was made about the same time for levying and subsisting two hundred and twenty men. These were to be marched to the small military posts on the frontiers, in order to strengthen the feeble garrisons. Independent of these, provision was also made for raising and paying eighty men, for the defence of Dutchess and Ulster counties.

In November, a law was enacted, creating a post office in the city of New-York. This was the first establishment of the kind in the province.

Fletcher was brave, active, passionate, bigotted, and avaricious, and withal of inconsiderable talents. In the autumn after his arrival he repaired to Albany, where he had an interview with the Agoneasean chiefs, and confirmed the old league.

While at Albany he became acquainted with Major Schuyler, a man of talents, enterprise and courage. No person, then in the province, understood the state of our affairs with the Agoneaseah better than him. He had so great an influence over them that whatever he recommended or disapproved had the force of a law. This influence over them was supported, as it had been obtained, by repeated offices of kindness, and his singular bravery and activity in

the defence of his country. These qualifications, so rarely to be found in a single individual, rendered him singularly necessary, both to the province and the governor. Fletcher, who possessed some sagacity, perceived that such a man would be highly useful, not only for himself, as an adviser, but for the country, took him into confidence, and made him one of the council. Under the tutelage of Major Schuyler, the governor became daily more and more conversant with the Agoneasean concerns: his constant application to which procured and preserved him a reputation and influence in the colony.

During this year small parties of the Agoneaseah endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the French through lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, which issues out of it, in order to cut off their communication with the western Indians. A chief, called Black Kettle, commanded in some of the incursions with singular address and success. The French, however, still kept the communication open.

The indefatigable and gallant count Frontenac, finding that all his measures for accomplishing a peace with the Agoneaseah had proved abortive, was now meditating a blow upon the Mohawks. He accordingly collected six or seven hundred French, Adirondacks, and Caughnawagas, and supplied them with every thing necesary for a winter's campaign. They set out from Montreal, on the 15th day of January, 1693, and proceeded by the way of lake Champlain; and after a march attended with incredible hardships, they passed by Schenectady on the 6th of February, and that night took five men, and some women and children, at the first castle of the Mohawks. They met with the same success at the second castle, the Mohawks being in perfect security, and many of them at Schenectady. At the third they found about forty men engaged in a war dance, preparatory to going out on some enterprise the next day.

Upon their entering the castle a conflict ensued in which the French lost some men. Three hundred of the Mohawks were made captives in this expedition.

The Mohawks were greatly enraged at the people of Schenectady, because, they had not given them notice of the enemy's

approach, nor any assistance. But this was atoned for by the succors from Albany. Colonel Schuyler upon hearing of their mismisfortunes, (of the Mohawks,) immediately put himself at the head of two hundred volunteers, and went out against the enemy. On the fifteenth of February, he was joined by three hundred Mohawks badly armed. With these forces, he went in pursuit of the enemy, with whom he fell in with, on the seventeenth, when some skirmishes ensued. The French being apprehensive that colonel Schuyler would receive a re-enforcement from Albany, continued their retreat on the eighteenth. Indeed this apprehension was well founded; for captain Syms arrived the next day with eighty men. Colonel Schuyler then resumed the pursuit; but did not think it advisable to provoke an attack. When the French had reached the north branch of Hudson's river; it is said, that a cake of ice served them to cross over, being open on both sides, and also above and below.

The frost was now extremely severe, and the Mohawks being fearful of an engaement, dissuaded Colonel Schuyler from pursuing them, and he returned.

On the tenth of April, 1693, six thousand pounds were voted for the payment of three hundred men, to be employed in reinforcing the frontier posts, in the then county of Albany.

On the twenty-second of the same month, the assembly enacted a law, establishing a ministry of the church of England in the city, and county of New-York; and in the counties of Queens, Richmond, and Westchester, and for paying the same. This was the first law establishing a hierarchy in the province, at the expense of the people, without consultiug their sentiments; but it never had many admirers, owing to the liberal and good sense of the public.

The act provided, that the citizens of New-York should pay the ministers of the hierarchy in money, and those in the country in produce, adapting the law to times and circumstances. Those in the city, handled more money than those in the country, and were therefore better able to disburse in this medium. Law givers very often study the purses and abilities of their constitutents.

In this act, there was no provision made for the ministers, with-

out the pale of the hierarchy. This church, the government viewed as the only one which was orthodox.

Government wished, and did prescribe religion, as tailors do fashions:—None but the orthodox participated in the administration of government.

The support of a few idle clergymen, was severely felt by the people, who had enough to do to support their own pastors, men of their own choise and persuasion. We beg the indulgence of the reader, for troubling him longer with this subject; but the preamble to the act is so extraordinary, that we cannot refrain from giving it. It is thus:—"whereas profaneness and licentiousness hath of late spread over this province, for the want of a settled ministry throughout the same; to the end the same may be removed, and the ordinances of God duly administered, be it enacted &c. Then follows the act of which we have drawn the outlines. See Colonial Laws.

The news of the arrival of the recruits and warlike stores in Canada, and the great losses of the Mohawks, who had always been at the head of the Agoneasean confederacy, induced the Oneidas, in the early part of the summer of this year, to supplicate a peace with the French, through the agency of Milet a Jesuit, then resident among them. The Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, soon followed their example.

Fletcher's extraordinary dispatch up to Albany, upon the first news of the French irruption into the Mohawk's country, gained him the esteem of the public, and of the Agoneaseah.

The express reached New-York on the twelfth day of February, and in less than two days, the governor embarked with three hundred men. The river was open, which had hitherto been very uncommon. On the seventeenth, he arrived at Schenectady. The Agoneaseah, in commendation of his activity on this occasion, gave him the name of Cayenguirago, or the great swift arrow.

In March, the assembly voted six thousand pounds, in order to raise three hundred volunteers to defened the province for one year.

To prevent the Agoneaseah from concluding a peace with the French, colonel Fletcher met them in July, 1693, at Albany, and

made them a considerable present in knives, hatchets, guns, ammunition, and clothing, which the crown had sent over for that purpose. They consented to a renewal of the league, and expressed much gratitude. They said to his excellency, "brother Cayenguirago, we roll and wallow in joy, by reason of the great favour, the great king and queen have done us, in sending us arms and ammunition, at a time when we were in the greatest need of them, and, because there is such unity among the brethren."

Fletcher meanly pressed them to deliver up M. Milet, the Jesuit already named; but they declined.

He had great influence among them, and prevailed on all but the Mohawks, to come to a conference. No peace, however, was made on the ground that the French insisted upon rebuilding fort Frontenac at the issue of lake Ontario, and upon including their allies in the peace. The war which had been suspended, broke out anew.

Count Frontenac, directed his principal force against the Mohawks. He sent three hundred men to Niagara, to clear the woods, and take such of the Agoneaseah, as might be found in a hostile attitude. Several were killed, while others were captured, and sent to Montreal.

While the French endeavoured to make peace with the Agoneaseah, the frontiers of the province of New-York enjoyed an undisturbed repose.

On the 26th of March, 1694, a law passed for raising and paying one hundred and seventy men, who were to be employed in the defence of the frontiers of the county of Albany.

In October the same year, provision was made to levy one hundred men, to strengthen the posts in the same county. The reader will keep in mind, that Albany then included all the country north of Dutchess and Ulster, and westwardly of New England. The few settlements were on the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and these did not extend much beyond the limits of Albany and Schenectady.

Colonel Fletcher, and the assembly at this session, came to an open rupture. The seeds of the dispute had been sown some time before. His excellency was rash, passionate, and avaricious,

and continually importuning the house for money, which it had not, and which it inclined not to raise. In the midst of his passions, he dissolved the house, and called another in June.

The count Frontenac was then repairing the old fort at Cadaraqui. His excellencey laid this matter before the house, and the king's assignment of the quotas of the several colonies. The list of the quotas stood thus:—

Massachusets - - - - - - -	£350
Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation - -	48
Connecticut - - - - - - -	120
New-York - - - - - - -	200
Pennsylvania - - - - - - -	80
Maryland - - - - - - - -	168
Virginia - - - - - - - -	240

As a number of forces were now arrived, the assembly were in hopes the province would be relieved from raising any more men for the defence of the frontiers; and to obtain this favour from the governor ordered one thousand pounds to be levied, one-half to be presented to him, and the other, to be distributed among the English officers and soldiers; but the governor disproved this gratuity, and so the law did not pass.

In September, colonel Fletcher went up to Albany with very considerable presents to the Agoneaseah, whom he censured for suffering the French to rebuild the fort at Cadaraqui, or Frontenac.

While these works were carrying on, the Dinondadies made overtures of peace to the Agoneaseah, which were readily acceded to, because, so long as they were at war with them, they never dared to march all their forces against Canada. The Dinondadies lived on the shores, or in the vicinity of lake Michigan.

In July, 1695, the legislature voted one thousand pounds, for the purpose of employing an agent at the court of Great Britain. Hitherto no person of this description had been employed. This colony, as well as the other colonies, were obliged to maintain agents near the court of St. James, in order to guard, and see to their several rights, and counteract the false representations, which were frequently made by the governors, and their minions.

In after times, several colonies joined and appointed one agent, who attended to their separate concerns. Dr. Franklin resided many years in London in this capacity, and acquitted himself with distinguished honour. Fifteen hundred pounds were voted for the payment of a company of fuzileers, and to keep the troops in the service.

The French never had a governor in Canada, so vigilant and active as the count de Frontenac. He had no sooner repaired the old fort called by his name, than he formed the design of invading the country of the Agoneaseah. For this purpose, in 1696, he convened at Montreal, all the regulars and militia under his command; the Owenagungas, Quatoghies, Adirondacks, Sokakies, Nipiciriniens, Caughnawagas, and some Utawawas. The forces were embarked on board of light barks, which were portable whenever the rapidity of the stream, and the crossing of an isthmus rendered it necessary.

The count left La Chine at the south end of the island of Montreal, on the seventh of July. Two battalions of regulars, under Le Chevalier de Calliers, headed by a number of the auxiliaries, led the van, with two small field pieces, the mortars &c. After them, followed the provisions; then the main body, and a considerable number of volunteers: and four battalions of the militia, commanded by M. de Ramezai. Two battalions of regulars, and a few of the auxiliaries under the chevalier de Vaudruel, brought up the rear. Before the army went a parcel of scouts to descry the tracks, and ambuscades of the enemy. After twelve days march, they arrived at Cadaraqui, or Frontenac, about one hundred and eighty miles above Montreal. They then crossed lake Ontario to Oswego. From thence they proceeded up the river, fifty men marching on each side of the stream, to Three river point, where they took the Seneca branch, and followed it up to the mouth of Onondaga outlet, which they ascended and entered that lake. After they had entered it, the army divided into two parts, the one coasting along the east, and the other along the west side, till they had reached its head, near where the village of Salina now stands. Here they landed, and erected a small fort. The Onondagas had sent away their wives and children, and were determined to defend

their castle, which was distant about nine miles, till they were informed by a deserter of the superior strength of the French, and the nature of the bombs which were intended to be used against them; but they then altered their minds, and set fire to their own villages, and fled to the woods. The French, without delay, marched to the castle; but found it deserted. They then destroyed the corn, and every thing which the Onondagas had left behind. M. de Vaudrueil went with a detachment to Oneida, where he took thirty-five prisoners. The French were considerably annoyed in their retreat, by the Onondagas, who cut off some of their boats.

The continual incursions of the Agoneaseah on the country near Montreal, again spread famine through Canada. The count Frontenac kept up his spirits to the last; and sent out small parties, some of whom infested Albany, as those of the Agoneaseah did Montreal, till the peace between England and France, in 1697.

In April, 1696, the legislature voted two thousand five hundred and ninety-three pounds, for the payment of the troops in the garrisons, and also for raising one hundred and twenty-five men. The forces of the province, including the levy, comprised only four companies.

On the 30th of October in the same year, an act was passed to levy one hundred men, in order to increase the garrison at Albany. Twelve hundred pounds were voted for this service.

Two thousand three hundred pounds were voted in April, 1697, for securing the frontiers of the county of Albany, and for carrying on the recruiting service.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Earl of Bellamont succeeds Colonel Fletcher in 1698.—*His Lordship espouses the cause of the Leislerians,* &c.—*His correspondence with Count Frontenac,* &c.—*Controversies between the Leislerians, and Anti-Leislerians.—Bellamont's partiality to the Leislerians—Vacation of several extravagant grants, made by Colonel Fletcher—A tyrannical act against Jesuits, and Romish Priests.—Supplies voted for the defence of the Province.—Death of the Earl of Bellamont in* 1701.—*Mr. Nanfan succeeds him as Lieutenant-Governor,* &c.—*Violent measures.—Mr. Nanfan succeeded by Lord Cornbury.—He on his arrival espoused the side of the Anti-Leislerians.—His meanness, avarice, bigotry, tyranny,* &c.

Richard, Earl of Bellamont, was appointed to succeed Colonel Fletcher, in the year 1695; but did not receive his commission till the 18th of June, 1697. He did not arrive here before the 2d of April, 1698.

During the late war, the seas were very much infested with English pirates, some of whom sailed out of New-York. Captain Kid was entrusted with the command of a frigate, with orders to clear the American seas of pirates. He sailed from Plymouth for New-York, in April, 1696; but he afterwards turned pirate himself. The Earl of Bellamont, some time after, had him arrested at Boston; but as many of the officers of government were secretly concerned with him, it does not appear that he received that punishment which his crimes merited.

Lord Bellamont's commission was published in council, on the day of his arrival.

After the Earl had dispatched Captain John Schuyler, and Dellius the Dutch minister at Albany, to Canada, with the account of the peace, and to solicit an exchange of prisoners; he laid before the council letters from Secretary Vernon, and the East India Company, relating to the pirates. After considering the whole matter, the council advised his Lordship to arrest Colonel Fletcher and Mr. Nicolls; but their advice was never carried into effect, probably, owing to a want of evidence. It was nevertheless certain, that the pirates were frequently in the Sound, and supplied with provisions by the people of Long Island, who, for many years afterwards, were so infatuated with a notion that the pirates buried great quantities of money along the coast, that there is scarce a point of land, or an island, without the marks of their *auri sacra fames*, or hidden treasures of gold. Some credulous people have ruined themselves by these researches, and propagated a thousand idle fables, which are current to this day among those fond of the marvellous. Smith.

As Fletcher, through the whole of his administration, had been entirely influenced by the enemies of Leisler: nothing could be more agreeable to the numerous adherents of that unfortunate man, than his Lordship's disaffection to the late governor. It was for this reason they immediately devoted themselves to his Lordship, as the head of their party.

The majority of the council were Fletcher's friends, and there needed nothing more to render them obnoxious to his Lordship. Leisler's advocates, at the same time mortally hated them; not only because they had imbrued their hands in the blood of the principal men of their party; but also because they had engrossed the sole confidence of the late governor, and brought down his resentment upon them. Hence, at the commencement of the Earl's administration, the members of the council had every thing to fear; while the party they had depressed, began once again to erect its head, under the smiles of a governor who was fond of their aid. as they were solicitous to conciliate his favor.

Had his Lordship countenanced the enemies as well as the friends of Leisler, which he might have done; his administration would doubtless have been easier to himself, and more advantageous to

the province; but his inflexible aversion to Colonel Fletcher, prevented his acting with that moderation, which was necessary to enable him to govern both parties. The fire of his temper appeared very early, on his suspending Mr. Nicoll from the board of the council, &c. But his speech to the new assembly, convened on the 18th of May, gave the fullest evidence of his abhorence of the late administration*

Philip French was chosen speaker, and waited upon his excellency with the house, when his Lordship spoke to them in the following manner:—

"I cannot but observe to you, what a legacy my predecessor has left me, and what difficulties to struggle with; a divided people, an empty purse, a few miserable, naked, half starved soldiers: not half the king allowed pay for; the fortifications, and even the governor's house very much out of repair—and in a word, the whole government out of frame. It hath been represented, that this province has been a noted receptacle of pirates, and the trade of it under no restrictions; but the acts of trade, violated by the neglect and connivance of those whose duty it was to have prevented it."

After this introduction, he put them in mind that the revenue was near expiring.

"It would be hard," says he, "If I that come among you with an honest mind, and a resolution to be just to your interest, should meet with greater difficulties in the discharge of my duty, than those that have gone before me. I will take care that there shall be no misapplication of the public money. I will pocket none of it myself: nor shall there be any embezzlement by others; but exact accounts shall be given, when, and as often as you shall require it."

The house, although unanimous in a hearty address of thanks to his lordship for his speech, could scarce agree upon any thing else. It was some time before they had finished the controversies relating to the late turbulent elections; and even then, six members seceded, which obliged his excellency to dissolve the house, on the 14th of June, 1698. About the same time, his Lordship dismissed Pinhorne, and Brook from the council.

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* See Smith's Hist. of N. Y.

In July, the disputes with the French, concerning the exchange of prisoners, obliged the governor to go up to Albany. When the Earl sent the account of the conclusion of the peace to the governor of Canada, all the French prisoners in the province were restored, and as to those among the Agoneaseah, he promised to order them to be safely escorted to Montreal. His Lordship then added: "I doubt not Sir, that you, on your part, will also issue an order to relieve the subjects of the king, captivated during the war; whether Christians, or the Agoneaseah.

The Count de Frontenac, fearful of being drawn into an implicit acknowledgment that the Agoneaseah were subject to the English crown, demanded the French prisoners among them, to be brought to Montreal; threatening at the same time, to continue the war against them, if they did not comply with his request. After his Lordship's interview with the chiefs of the Agoneaseah, he wrote a second letter to the Count, informing him, that they had importunately begged to continue under the protection of the English crown, professing an inviolable subjection, and fidelity to his majesty; and that the Agoneaseah were always considered as subjects, which can be manifested to all the world, by authentic and solid proof. His Lordship added, "that he would not suffer them to be insulted, and threatened to execute the laws of England upon the missionaries, if they continued any longer among the Agoneaseah." "If it is necessary," says he, "I will arm every man in the province to opposeyou, and redress the injury that you may have perpetrated against the Agoneaseah."

The Count de Frontenac, in his answer, proposed to refer the dispute to the commissioners, to be appointed according to the treaty; but the Earl continued the claim, insisting that the French prisoners should be delivered up at Albany.

Count Frontenac dying while this matter was controverted, M. de Callieres, his successor, sent ambassadors the next year to Onondaga, there to regulate the exchange of prisoners, which was accomplished without the Earl's consent. Smith.

Great alterations were made in the council, on his excellency's return from Albany. Bayard, Mienvielle, Willet, Townley, and Lawrence, were all suspended on the 28th of September; and

colonel Depeyster, Messrs. Livingston, and Staats, called to the board; Mr. Philipse resigned, and Mr. Walters took his place.

The new assembly, of which James Graham was chosen speaker, met in the spring. His Lordship addressed them on the twenty-first of March, 1699.

As the late assembly was principally composed of Anti-Leislerians, so this consisted almost entirely of Leislerians, designations corresponding with those in our times. The elections were attended with great outrage, and tumult: and many applications were made relating to the returns; but as Abraham Governeur, who had been secretary to Leisler, got returned for Orange, and was very active in the house, all the petitions were rejected without ceremony.

Among the principal acts passed at this session, there was one for indemnifying those who were excepted out of the general pardon, in 1691; another against pirates; and one to raise fifteen hundred pounds, as a present to his Lordship, and five hundred pounds for the lieutenant-governor Mr. Nanfan.

A law was also made for the regulation of elections. It required that the electors should be resident, and possessed of freeholds of the value of forty pounds, or upwards. It was likewise voted, that the post office in the city of New-York, should be continued two years longer.

This assembly took also into consideration, sundry extravagant grants of land, which colonel Fletcher had made to several of his favourites.

Among these four grants, two to Dellius the Dutch minister at Albany, one to Nicholas Bayard, and one to Captain John Evans, were the most considerable. Dellius was one of the commissioners for Agoneasean affairs, and had fradulently obtained Agoneasean deeds, according to which, the patents had been granted. One of these lay on the east side of the Hudson, and extended northerly seventy miles, and had a breadth of twelve miles. It commenced on the northernmost boundary of Saratoga, and stretched northwardly to the rock Rossian.* The rent reserved to the crown on this enormous grant, was one hundred raccoon skins per annum.

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* At this period, the country on both sides of the Hudson was called Sara-

A second to the said Dellius, and to Messrs. Pinhorn and Banker, was on the Mohawk river. It began above a place then called Orakkee, and from a place named by the Agoneaseah, Owendiere, and ran westwardly along that river, to a place denominated Arach-Sochne, fifty miles. It had a breadth of four miles, two being on each side of the river. The annual rent reserved, was five beaver skins. Dellius spoke the Huron language, and occasionally preached to the people living in the Mohawk canton.

The third grant was made to colonel Nicholas Bayard. It commenced at the mouth of Schoharie creek, and extended from the Agoneasean fields, then called Icanderago, but since fort Hunter, to the head of the creek's first springs, at or near the hill then known by the name of Kanjearagore, which we suppose to be the Kaatskill mountains. The two extremities then, were Icanderago, or the flats at fort Hunter and Kanjearagore or the Kaatskill mountains at the head of the creek. The breadth of this grant is not specified : we presume, however, that it embraced all the country from whence the Schoharie and its confluents derive their waters. Our induction or presumption is founded on the consideration that the heads of streams, among the Agoneaseah, Moheakanneews, and other American nations, were often deemed boundaries, and that from the difficulty in always determining these with accuracy, the source of many of their wars may be traced.

This extensive grant was erected into a lordship or manor called Kingsfield. It had no civilized inhabitants. Two of the Mohawk clans, to wit : the Icanderagoes and Schoharies occupied it. The sonorous names of Icanderago and Kanjearagore have given place to Fort Hunter and Kaatskill. It is much to be regretted that the names of ancient places have been changed ; and that others which have no meaning, or what is worse than no meaning, have been substituted. The name of a little block-house and stockade fort has supplanted that of Icanderago. But why should we find fault with those who lived a century ago, for doing what is every year's practice in our own times? England, Germany, Turkey, and Hindostan, are ransacked for names.

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toga. The rock Rossian is in Willsborough, Essex county, and is now called Split Rock.

The fourth grant was made to capt. John Evans. It lay on the west side of the Hudson. It began at a place called Palse, and extended southerly along the river to the Mohickander lands, at Murderer's kill, in Orange county, and thence westerly to the foot of the high hills called *Pitkiskaker* and *Aiaskawasting*, (now Shawangunk mountain,) and thence southerly, all along the said hills, and the river Peakadasand (now Shawangunk river,) to a water pond lying upon the said hills, named Marchary, comprehending all those lands, meadows, and woods denominated Nescotonck, Chawangen, Memorasink,Kacogh, Getawan, Annuck, and Gillatawogh.

Such were the exorbitant grants. There were several others of less extent. All these grants were vacated at the instance of Lord Bellamont, on the ground that they would impede the settlement of the country, and tend to estrange the Agoneaseah and Mohickanders.

The act of vacation provided that no governor should thereafter demise or grant any lands for a longer period than he should be in office. Before this the governors had authority to make unlimited grants. Wise as the provision was, the colonial governors, and, after them, the state governors, devised means of evading it. Hence all the public lands have been trifled away and have fallen into the hands of a few favourites, a few speculators, and some governmental servants, who have either leased or sold them out to actual settlers, or still hold them.

This has retarded the population of the state. Now, emigrants pass through the state, to Ohio, Michigan, and Canada, where lands can be had on liberal terms.

A law was enacted by the legislature, at this session, against jesuits and popish priests, which savoured very strong of the bigotry of the times.

The act required all jesuits, and popish priests to leave the province by the first day of November, in the same year, under the penalty of perpetual imprisonment, and death in case they attempted to break prison. It authorised the justices of the peace to apprehend such persons as were suspected without warrant, process, or information. It also gave rewards. The preamble is a curiosity

in legislation, and reminds us of the preamble to the act establishing a hierarchy in the city and county of New-York, &c. to the manifest detriment of dissenters and the public. It is in these words: "Whereas divers jesuits and popish missionaries have of late come, and for some time have had their residence in the remote parts of this province, and others his majesty's adjacent colonies, who by their wicked and subtle insinuations industriously labour to debauch, seduce, and withdraw the Indians, from their due obedience unto his most sacred majesty, and to excite and stir them up to sedition, rebellion, and open hostility against his majesty's government: For prevention whereof," &c.

In vain might such legislators declaim against the illiberal policy which created the Romish inquisition: the better informed part of mankind will consider both as having emanated from the same polluted source. Every country has had its fanatics, its bigots and persecutors. If Roman catholicks have been illiberal and have departed from generous legislation:—we have an instance in the case before us of a set of protestants, armed with power, being equally illiberal.

At this time the French maintained some jesuits and missionaries among the Agoneaseah an independent nation. This gave umbrage to the government, and origin to the law. The English government pretended to jurisdiction over this people, and claimed them as subjects. The Agoneaseah have preserved their freedom and independence to this day; they have never acknowledged an extraneous domination; they are still as free as the air they breathe. They had the right to receive and entertain the French missionaries or those of any other nation.

In the month of August, in the year 1700, one thousand pounds were voted to build a fort at Onondaga. No fort, however, was ever built. The Onondagas, as well as the other Agoneasean cantons, had concluded peace with the French, and they did not incline to have them, or the English, erect fortifications in their country. They viewed these establishments as steps towards depriving them of their rights and liberties.

On the 29th of October, in the same year, a law was made de-

claring the town of East Chester, in the county of Westchester, a distinct parish forever from the town of Westchester; provided that the inhabitants should maintain a good, orthodox, protestant minister, (a minister of the church of England.) By the very provision of the act, the town reverted again to Westchester, whenever the inhabitants failed in a compliance. We have noticed this act merely because it is an anomally in legislation.

The earl of Bellamont died on the 6th of March, 1701. He seems to have been a man of art, and some talents, but he was strongly tinctured with prejudice and fanaticism, the common failings of the age.

John Nanfan, the lieutenant-governor, succeeded him.

The British crown gave two thousand pounds for the defence of Albany and Schenectady, and five hundred pounds for erecting a fort in Onondaga. Not long after, an ordinance was issued for creating a Court of Chancery, which was to sit once a month. The powers of the chancellor were vested in the governor and council, or any two of that board. Masters, clerks, and a register were appointed.

Great were the struggles, at the ensuing election, between the Leislerians and the Anti-Leislerians, but the former prevailed.

The Assembly convened on the 19th of August, 1701. The fire of contention, which had lately appeared in the tumultuous elections, blazed out afresh in the house.* A Mr. Nicoll and a Mr. Wessels were excluded by Mr. Nanfan. This occasioned a secession of seven members.

Among the opposers of Leisler there was a Mr. Livingston. The measures of the convention, at Albany, had been very much directed by his advice, and he was now obnoxious to his adversaries, not only on these accounts but because he was a man of sense and resolution, two qualifications rarely to be found united in one person at that day. His intimacy with the late earl had till that time been his defence against the rage of the party which he had formerly opposed. They were, therefore, now bent upon his destruction. Several charges were made against him which were false; and it was proposed to pass a law to confiscate his estate. One of the

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* Smith's Hist. of N. Y.

charges was his refusing to account for monies received as commissioner of excise. He could not account because his opponents had, previous to making the charge, drawn out of his hands the books and vouchers, which they declined allowing him access to.

The news of the appoinment of Lord Cornbury, so strongly animated the hopes of the Anti-Leislerians, that about the comencement of the year 1702, one Nicholas Bayard, a violent partizan, prompted several addresses to the king. the parliament, and Lord Cornbury. In that to his Majesty, he assured him, " that the late differences were not grounded on a regard to his interest; but the corrupt designs of those who laid hold on an opportunity to enrich themselves, by the spoils of their neighbours. The petition to the parliament, says, that Leisler and his adherents gained the fort at the revolution without any opposition; that he oppressed and imprisoned the people without cause, plundered them of their goods, and compelled them to flee their country, though they were well affected to the prince of Orange. That the Earl of Bellamont appointed indigent sheriffs,* who returned such members to the assembly, as were unduly elected, and in his Lordship's esteem. That he suspended many from the board of council, who were faithful servants to the crown, introducing his own tools in their stead. Nay, they denied the authority of the late assemby, and added, that the house had bribed both the lieutenant-governor, and the chief justice; the one to pass the bills, and the other to defend the legality of their proceedings. A third address was prepared to be presented to Lord Cornbury, to congratulate him on his arrival, as well as to possess him in their favour, as to prejudice him against the opposite party.

Nothing could have had a more natural tendency to excite the wrath of the lieutenant-governor, and the revenge of the council and assembly, than the reflections contained in these addresses. Nanfan had no sooner received intelligence of them, than he summoned one Hutchins, an alderman and inn keeper, who had these addresses, to deliver them up to him, and upon his refusal committed him to jail, on the 19th of January. The next day, Messrs. Bayard, Van Dam, French, and Wenham, hot with party zeal, sent an impertinent note to the lieutenant-governor, boldly justifying

the legality of the address, and demanding his discharge out of prison. Mr. Nanfan, under the shadow of a law, passed in 1691, and which this very Bayard, had been instrumental in getting enacted, to bear upon the adherents of Leisler, committed him now to jail as a traitor, and lest the mob should interpose, placed a company of soldiers at the prison to prevent it. We shall not recite the act; but content ourselves with observing, that it gave the governor no power to commit.

The framers of the law, no doubt supposed at the time they made it, and while they were in power, that it gave them the same powers as were now taken. The framers, and interpreters of arbitrary laws, ought to be considerate; for they do not know but what they may come under their baleful influence.

Parties, like the waves of the ocean, are up and down, and what may suit those in authority, may not when divested of it. Here Bayard complained of its injustice, and justly, and so had others, on whom he and his partizans had brought it to act.

Nanfan issued a commission on the 12th of February, to try Bayard, who shortly after was arraigned, tried, and convicted of high treason, and sentenced to death. Several reasons were offered in arrest of judgment; but the prisoner was in the hands of an enraged party, and Atwood overruled them.

Bayard applied to the lieutenant-governor for a reprieve, till his majesty's pleasure might be known; and obtained it not without great difficulty. Several others were also convicted. He was released by Lord Cornbury, and an act reversing his attainder, passed.

After these trials, Nanfan erected a court of exchequer, and again convened the assembly, who thanked him for his late measures, and passed an act to outlaw Philip French, and Thomas Wenham, who had absconded upon Bayard's commitment.

Lord Cornbury began his administration on the third of May, 1702. He was in very indigent circumstances, and hunted out of England by a host of hungry creditors. Naturally a prodigal, and very avaricious, he determined to squeeze all the money he could

Smith's Hist. of N. Y.

out of the purses of an impoverished people. His talents were not superior to those of the most inconsiderable of his predecessors. In spiritual concerns, he was a great promoter of the hierarchy. His Lordship, without the least disguise, espoused the Anti-Leislerian party, upon which, the chief justice, and some others, thought proper to retire from his frowns.

On the seventh of November, the house voted one thousand eight hundred pounds, for paying and subsisting one hundred and fifty fuzileers, for five months, and for thirty men, to be employed as scouts for sixty-two days.

An act for destroying wolves in the province was passed. At this time, the counties of Richmond and Westchester, which had been settled upwards of seventy years, were still infested with these noxious animals.

On the 27th of November, an act for the encouragement of a grammar, or free school, in the city of New-York, went into a law. This appears to have been the first legislative step, taken to promote literature in the colony.

The act whereby a post office had been erected in New-York, was extended for four years and a half, to be computed from April, 1700; and some regulations were made, in order to enforce its rules.

From the tenor of the act, we are induced to believe, that it was an unpopular establishment in its inception, and for some time after.

In the course of this year, some of our people advanced up the river Mohawk, as far as Caughnawaga, and seated themselves on the lands which the Caughnawagas had formerly occupied.

Anterior to this, the Caughnawagas, who were a clan of the Mohawks, had emigrated to Canada at the solicitations of the French. The reader will recollect, that in the conflagration of Schenectady, in the month of February, 1690, some of this clan accompanied the French in their hibernal expedition.

The summer after his Lordship's arrival, was remarkable for an uncommon mortality, which prevailed in the city of New-York, and makes an epoch among its inhabitants, distinguished by the "*time of the great sickness.*" The fever was brought in a vessel,

from the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. Hitherto, no quarantine had been established. This fever, which in all probability, was the yellow fever, which in our time, has on several occasions ravaged the city, proved fatal in almost every instance. The sickness induced Lord Cornbury to change his residence to Jamaica, a village on Long Island, distant about twelve miles from the city.

The Inhabitants of Jamaica, consisted at that time partly of the original Dutch planters; but mostly of New England emigrants, encouraged to settle there after the surrender, by the duke of York's conditions for plantations, one of which was in these words: "That every township should be obliged to pay their own ministers, according to such agreements as they should make with them; the minister being elected by the major part of the house-holders, and inhabitants of the town. These people had erected an edifice for the worship of God, and enjoyed a handsome donation of a parsonage house, and glebe, for the use of their minister. After the ministry act was passed by colonel Fletcher, in 1693, a few episcopalians crept into the town, and viewed the presbyterian church with a jealous eye. The town vote, in virtue of which, the building had been erected, contained no clause to prevent its being hereafter engrossed by any other sect, The episcopal party who knew this, formed a design of seizing the edifice for themselves, which they shortly after carried into execution, by entering the church between the morning and evening service, while the presbyterian minister and his congregation were in perfect security, and unsuspicious of the zeal of their adversaries, and of a fradulent ejectment, on a day consecrated to sacred rest.

Great outrage ensued among the people, for the contention which was *pro aris et focis*, was animating and important. The original proprietors of the house, tore up their seats, and afterwards got the keys, and the possession of the church, which was shortly after taken from them by force, and violence. In these controversies, the governor abetted the episcopal zealots, and harrassed the others by numberless prosecutions, heavy fines, and long imprisonments;

through fear of which, many who had been active in the dispute, fled out of the province.

Lord Cornbury's noble decent and education, should have prevented him from taking part in so ignominious a quarrel; but his lordship's sense of honour and justice, was as weak and indelicate as his bigotry was rampant and uncontroulable: and hence, we find him guilty of an act complicated of a number of vices, which no man could have perpetrated without violence to the very last remains of generosity and justice. When his excellency retired to Jamaica, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, the presbyterian minister, lived in the best house in the town. His Lordship begged the loan of it for the use of his own family; and the clergyman put himself to no small inconvenience to favour his request; but in return for the generous benefaction, his Lordship perfidiously delivered his house into the hands of the episcopal party, and encouraged one Cardwell the sheriff, a mean fellow, to seize upon the glebe, which he farmed for the benefit of the episcopal church.

These tyrannical measures justly inflamed the indignation of the injured sufferers, and that again the more embittered his lordship against them. They resented, and he persecuted; nor did he confine his pious rage to the people of Jamaica. He detested all who were of the same denomination: nay, he was averse to every sect, except his own, he insisted, that neither the ministers, nor school masters of the Dutch, had a right to preach, or instruct without his gubernatorial licence.

The assembly were so well pleased with his lordship, because he headed their party, that they voted him two thousand pounds, as a present.

Though war was proclaimed by England, on the 4th of May, 1702, against France and Spain, yet as the Agoneaseah had entered into a treaty of neutrality with the French in Canada, the province of New-York, instead of being harrassed on its borders, by the enemy carried on a very advantageous trade, to such as were concerned in it. This shows, that the former depredations were occasioned in a great measure by the provincial rulers, who had generally encouraged them to commit depredations upon the

French in Canada, in order to keep up the national dispute, to the benefit of a few, and the detriment of many.

The Agoneaseah, although they had been hostile to the French, had been disposed on several occasions to come to peace, and would, had they been left to act according to their own judgment. At length, however, they came to a sense of their own interest; but it was not till they had been severely made to feel the horrors of invasion.

This neutrality was beneficial for the infant colony. All the predictions of the interested, turned out to be untrue. The French did not molest our borders.

Lord Cornbury, however, in consequence of his poverty, avarice, and extravagance, continued his solicitations for money, with unremitted importunity, by alarming the assembly and the people, with the prospect of attacks by sea and land.

Fifteen hundred pounds were voted, and raised by the assembly, under pretence of fortifying the Narrows, below New-York; but which his lordship craftily intended, and did apply to his own purposes.

Whether it was owing to the sagacity of the house, or their presumption, that his Lordship was as little to be trusted as any of his predecessors, that after voting the above sum for the fortifications; they added, that it should be for no other purpose. It is certain, they now began to see the danger of placing the public money in the hands of a receiver-general appointed by the crown, from whence a treacherous governor might draw it at his pleasure.

But, although the province of New-York enjoyed peace, it was not the case with the New-England borders.

In August, 1703, five hundred French, and Adirondacks, and others, their allies divided into several small parties, assaulted most of the settlements between Casco bay and Wells. They killed and captured one hundred and thirty persons, and burnt and laid waste most of the settlements.

The whole country was in the utmost consternation, alarms were every where taking place, and the entire frontier from Deerfield on Connecticut river, to Casco bay, was kept in alarm by the enemy's light parties.

The province voted a sum to maintain one hundred and thirty fuzileers, on its frontier about Albany. Four independent companies were at the same time in the pay of the crown. His lordship being under the influence of avarice and poverty, was constantly calling for money, for the public service, declaring, that the people were in danger: for he had the faculty, notwithstanding all his vices, of making them believe that he was their friend.

Time, which tests all things, at length exposed this noble lord, and those who had been his ardent admirers, abandoned him.

The legislature, who were apprehensive at first of incensing the people against them, had recourse to cunning, in order to elude this prodigal's demands. They prudently declined any further aids, till they were satisfied that he had made no misapplication. For this purpose, they appointed a committee, who reported that there was a balance of nearly one thousand pounds due the colony.

We shall pass over his Lordships dislike to this procedure; his calling the house, and rebuking them in a very rude manner, and their passively submitting to it. The leading men of a party take rebukes from the leader without a murmur. His Lordship was at the head of the then dominant party, and the assembly were bound as loyal partizans, to accept of his frowns without a murmur. To have acted otherwise, would have been a departure from the wholesome rules of parties, which are these, that party can never do wrong, and that the leaders have full right, and good authority to prescribe sentiments and rules of action for men.

In the winter of 1704, Mr. Vaudrieul, the governor of Canada, sent out a part of about three hundred French and Indians, against Deerfield on Connecticut river, which was then the most northerly settlement on that river, a few families at Northfield excepted. They were put under the command of Hertel de Rouville, assisted by four of his brothers, all of whom had been trained up in this mode of war by their father, who had been a famous partizan in the former wars. The rout they took was by lake Champlain, till they came to Onion river in Vermont. Advancing up that stream, they passed over the mountains to Connecticut river, and travelled down that river on the ice, till they arrived near to Deerfield.

In this expedition, as well as that against Schenectady, and that

against the Mohawks, the French and their allies used snow shoes, a species of shoes fastened upon their feet, which enabled them to walk over the deepest snow, without sinking.

Snow shoes are of large dimensions, and not calculated to directly protect the feet from cold or wet. They are made of wood and cords.

In these hibernal expeditions, the French followed the course of lakes, rivers, and streams, wherever these lay in their way.

When they sacked Schenectady, and the Mohawk castles, lake Champlain, Wood creek, and the Hudson, as low as Saratoga, formed the high way. These were covered with solid mantles of ice.

The fortifications at this place, consisted of some slight works thrown round two or three houses.

Rouville approached on the 29th day of February. The watch kept the streets till about two hours before day, and then retired to rest. Perceiving all to be quiet, the enemy embraced the opportunity, and rushed on to the attack. The snow was so high, that they had no difficulty in getting over the walls of the fortifications, when they immediately separated into small parties, and appeared before every house at the same instant. The place was completely surprised, and the enemy were entering the houses at the moment the inhabitants had the first suspicion of their approach. The whole was carried in a very short time, with very little resistance; one of the garrison houses only being able to hold out. Forty-seven of the inhabitants were slain, and the rest captured.

After plundering the village, the enemy set it on fire, and an hour after sunrise, retreated in great haste. A small party of the colonists pursued them, and coming up with them, engaged in a skirmish, in which a few fell on both sides. The enemy returned to Canada on the same rout, carrying with them one hundred and twelve prisoners. They were twenty-five days on their march from Deerfield to Chambly; and depended on hunting for their support. The prisoners, after their arrival in Canada, were treated with great kindness and humanity by the French.

For several years after this period, a continued scene of devasta-

tion and destruction was kept up. The colonists of New England formed several expeditions against the French and Indians, in the eastern parts, and they in their turn, made several inroads on the exposed settlements. Success often attended both sides.

The harbor of New-York being unfortified, a French privateer entered it, in 1705, and put the inhabitants in great consternation. In 1706, the legislature at their session, in June, ordered three thousand pounds to be levied, for the purpose of fortifying the Narrows, and the city of New-York. This sum was pocketted by the noble lord.

During the same session, a law was made to encourage the baptism of Negro, Indian, and Mulatto slaves. The occasion which gave rise to this law, may appear strange in these times. An opinion had gone abroad, that such as received the ordinance of baptism would be free: and this detered their humane and Christian like masters from allowing the ordinance to be performed. The legislature, therefore, in their pontificial character, interposed, and interpreted the effects and bearings of baptism on slaves. They declared the opinion noised abroad, to be heterodox; that those who were slaves before baptism, were slaves after. The performance of this ordinance, they say, does not manumit: nor does it deprive masters from exacting menial services from their fellow beings.

The inhabitants of the city of New-York, at this time, consisted mostly of dissenters. Among these, there were a few English and Irish presbyterians, who had neither church, nor minister. These used to assemble every sunday at a private house, for the worship of God.

Such were their circumstances when the Rev. Francis McKemie, and the Rev. John Hampton, two presbyterian ministers arrived in January, 1707.

As soon as Lord Cornbury, who hated the whole persuasion, heard that the Dutch had consented to Mr. McKemie's preaching in their church, he arbitrarily forbid, it. Mr. Hampton preached the same day at the Presbyterian church in Newtown, distant a few miles from the city. Both these clergymen were apprehended two or three days after, by Cardwell the sheriff, pursuant to his Lord-

ship's warrant, for preaching without his gubernatorial licence. From hence, they were led in triumph through Jamaica to New-York, where they were inducted into the presence of his Lordship; but they appeared before him with an undaunted courage, and had a conference with him, in which it is difficult to determine whether his lordship excelled most in the character of a savage bigot, or an ill-mannerly tyrant.

The ministers were no lawyers, or they would not have founded their justification on the supposed extent of the English act of toleration. They knew not that the ecclesiastical statutes had no relation to this colony: and that its religious state consisted in a perfect parity between protestants of all denominations. In vain did they attempt to justify their conduct before this bigoted tyrant, he ordered them to be committed to jail. They remained in close confinement six weeks and four days, through the absence of Mompesson the chief justice. On his return, they were brought before him by writ of habeas corpus, and bailed to the next supreme court.

The chief justice, who seems to have been one of those legal persons, that attain eminence from sycophancy, ought to have discharged them without bail or cognizance; but he probably knew very little more about law, than lord Cornbury and the attorney general.

In the heat of party zeal, when men sacrifice their judgments to their feelings, and their interests, any body may become an expounder of the law. Innocent individuals, however, have to smart. These clergymen furnish an example.[*] How many others smarted under the rod of tyranny and ignorance; we know not. We never should have heard of these men, had they not been clergymen. Historians rarely notice ordinary victims.

Great pains were taken to secure a grand jury who would indict them.

Mr. McKimie was tried and acquitted; but through the shameful partiality of the court, was not discharged from his cognizance, till they had extorted all the fees of his prosecution, which, together with his expenses, amounted to eighty-three pounds and upwards. Mr. Hampton was not tried or detained.

Lord Cornbury was now daily loosing the favor of the people, who seem to have been displeased with his democratic principles. The Leislerians, whose cause the noble lord had not espoused, had held him in the utmost abhorence from the beginning, and like true partizans, being all spies upon his conduct, it was impossible for him to commit the smallest crime unnoticed.

Parties always see on one side, hence, the factions which agitated the province for a series of years, sided with the governors as best suited their interests. But the latter commonly understood what redounded to their interest. In general, the newly appointed governor sided with the party which his predecessor had born down, and made it buoyant, and solely for his own interest.

The people, who never were initiated into the mysteries of the leaders of these factions, always hoped for the better, and were always disappointed.

Lord Cornbury was poor, needy, and avaricious. He professed love for the people: and fleeced them.

He persecuted the presbyterians. He alarmed the fears of the Dutch in this: that he disputed their right to call and settle ministers, and school masters, without his gubernatorial permission:—In fine, his unbounded avarice; his embezzlement of the public money; and his refusal to pay his private debts, raised such a clamor against him, that his admirers and other adherents, abandoned him.

The minds of the people being very justly alienated from his lordship and his favourites, they sent representatives to the assembly, who were opposed to him.

Among the acts passed in 1708, there was one which provided donations for the Agoneaseah, and for the defence of the frontiers. Farther provision was made for the continuance of the post office in the city of New-York. The assembly discontinued the revenue, owing to his excellency's appling it mostly to his own use.

The committee of grievances passed several resolutions, from which we shall make the following extracts:—

"Resolved, that the imposing, and levying of any moneys upon the people of this colony, under any pretence or color, not positively established, and regulated by consent in general assembly, is a grievance and violation of the people's property."

"Resolved, that for any officer to exact from the people extravagant and unlimited fees, or any money without consent in general assembly, is unlawful, and a great grievance, and tending to the utter destruction of all property in this plantation."

"Resolved, that the compelling any man upon his trial, by a jury, or otherwise, to pay the fees for his prosecution, or any fees whatever, unless the fees of the officers whom he employs for his defence, is a great grievance, and contrary to justice."

The latter resolution had a special relation to the unjust, and arbitrary exactions imposed on the Rev. Mr. McKimie, after he had been acquitted by a jury.

Lord Cornbury was no less obnoxious to the people of New Jersey, whose governor he was at the same time, than to those of New-York. The assembly of that province, impatient of his tyranny and exactions, drew up a complaint against him, and sent it to England, and had him removed.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arrival of Lord Lovelace in December, 1708.—*His administration, and death.—Richard Ingolsby, the lieutenant-governor, succeeds Lord Lovelace.—Second invasion of Canada revived.—New-York,* Connecticut, *and New Jersey, required to raise and subsist one thousand five hundred men.—Troops assembled at Wood creek.—Invasion of Canada abandoned.—Mortality among the troops.—Col. Schuyler sent to England with several Indian chiefs.—Their audience with the Queen.—General Hunter arrives in June,* 1710, *and takes upon himself the government of the Province.—General meeting of the Colonial Governors, in* 1711, *at New London in Connecticut, in order to concert measures for the invasion of Canada.—The Provinces of New-York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, levied four thousand men, who assembled at Wood creek.—The English fleet with seven thousand troops on board, sailed for Quebec.—Disaster in the gulf of St. Lawrence,* &c.

John lord Lovelace was appointed to the government of the province, in the spring of 1708; but did not arrive till the 18th of December, following.

He dissolved the assembly on his arrival, and convened a new one, on the 5th of April, 1709.

William Nicoll was elected speaker. The people were greatly pleased at the change. His lordship informed the legislature, that he had brought with him large supplies of soldiers, and stores of war, as well as presents for the Indians.

The principal matter which engaged the attention of the house, was the affair of the revenue.

Lord Cornbury's conduct had rendered them utterly averse to a permanent support for the future: and yet they were unwilling to

quarrel with the new governor. They, however, agreed to raise two thousand five hundred pounds, to defray the charges of the government, to the ensuing May, in 1710. Sixteen hundred pounds of this, were given to his excellency.

Lord Lovelace died, and the government devolved upon Richard Ingolsby the lieutenant-governor, the same who had exercised the command several years before.

We have already adverted to the unhappy situation of the New England borders, in consequence of the war between England and France.

Hitherto, it had been the lot of the province of New-York to be exempt from the horrors attendant on savage warfare; for this repose, the people were indebted to a neutrality between the Agoneaseah, and French of Canada. But this repose was disturbed by one man; under the pretext of putting an end to the horrid scenes, which were yearly going on in New England; but in reality to spread them more widely.

Colonel Vetch, a man of a restless disposition, projected a second expedition against Canada. New-York was to be the highway for the march of the troops to be employed. In pursuance of his project, he had gone to England, in 1708, and laid it before the ministry, who approved of it.

Early in the spring of 1709, he came to Boston with letters from the secretary of state, to the governors of New England, to engage their assistance. Having prevailed upon them to join in the scheme, he next repaired to New-York, where he concerted the plan of operation with Francis Nicholson, who had formerly been lieutenant-governor of the province.

Canada was to be invaded by sea and land. Two expeditions were to be put on foot at the same time. The one was to proceed up the river St. Lawrence, and attack Quebec, and the other was to proceed by the way of Wood creek, lake Champlain, and the Sorel, and assault Montreal. The same routs were to be followed, that had been followed by Sir William Phips, and general Winthrop, in their invasion of the province.

The letters which Vetch had from the ministry, announced that a squadron consisting of ships of war and transports, would arrive

at Boston from England, by the middle of May, with five regiments of troops.

The colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, were required to raise, equip, subsist, and pay twelve hundred men for three months. These were designed to reinforce the troops from England, and to proceed with them up the St. Lawrence.

The provinces of New-York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, were required to raise and subsist fifteen hundred men, who were to be assembled at Albany, and to be marched from thence to Canada. Nicholson was appointed general over these forces, and Vetch one of the colonels.

The quota furnished by New-York, was four hundred and eighty-seven men.

The plan seems to have met the public approbation; the recommendations of the ministry were universally adopted: and such was the promptness of the colonies in furnishing the men, that general Nicholson marched early in the summer to Wood creek, in the county of Washington, which is a small stream, that falls into the head of lake Champlain; where he encamped his men, in order to wait the arrival of the squadron from England.

The reader will remember, that there is a Wood creek in the county of Oneida, which falls into Fish creek, very near where the latter falls into Oneida lake. Both streams are boatable, and were used more or less, in the wars with Canada.

The troops constructed three forts, and several block-houses, and store-houses. Besides the quotas of troops, some independent companies were formed and sent on. New-York furnished one hundred batteaux, and as many birch canoes. Most of the expense of this army was borne by the colony. And in addition to this, the province supported six hundred Indian warriors, with their wives and children, amounting to one thousand; these lay at Albany.

The colonial troops designed for Quebec, assembled at Boston, and were ready to embark by the twentieth of May; and only awaited the arrival of the squadron.

In America, every thing was prepared for the invasion, and all

eyes were turned towards the conquest of Canada. The promised succors from England, however, did not arrive: nor did any intelligence concerning them, reach the colonists.

A great mortality began to prevail among the troops at Wood creek. The delay of the succors, and the mortality, caused dejection and discontent through the country: and all the expectations fell to the ground.

The province of New-York alone, incurred an expense of upwards of twenty thousand pounds, a very large sum at that time, considering the great value of money, and the infant state of the country.

Early in the fall, the legislature requested the lieutenant-governor, to recall all the forces of New-York.

Nicholson and Vetch, soon after put an end to the campaign, and retired to New Port in Rhode Island, where there was a congress of governors convened, to consult what further measures should be adopted against the enemy. The assembly of Massachusetts disbanded their forces late in the autumn.

In 1709, a road was opened by the colonial troops from fort Ann, to White Hall, near the head of lake Champlain.

We have heretofore mentioned, that the forces under general Winthrop, in 1690, made a road from the upper part of Saratoga, to the place where fort Anne was built.

Thus ended the second attempt to reduce Canada. While Nicholson lay at Wood creek, the French were not idle. The governor of Canada sent out fifteen hundred troops, including Indians, to oppose him. These advanced about forty leagues southerly from Montreal, and after observing the course pursued by Nicholson and Vetch, returned.

According to Charlevoix, the historian of New France, the Agoneaseah were in doubt whether it would be to their interest to have the English prevail.

Upon the authority of father Mareuil, who had been a prisoner at Albany, he relates that a grand council of the Agoneaseah was held at Onondaga, to deliberate on their affairs, and the line of conduct to be pursued. That at this council, one of their old men made a speech, and asked them, whether they were not sensible

that they were situated between two powerful nations, either of whom, were able to extirpate them: and would not fail to do it, when either of them had fully subdued the other. He then advised them not to adopt any measures that would tend to destroy their own importance, and independence; but to pursue their former policy, and be at peace or war with either nation, as should best tend to keep up the contest with them.

This speech, it is said, made a great impression on the council; and according to Mareuil, the Agoneaseah were not active in assisting Nicholson; but rather wished to impede his progress.

The attempt upon Canada, having miscarried the frontiers of New England, as well as those of New-York, were involved in blood.

The congress at Rhode Island, came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to adopt vigorous measures against the enemy.

An address was sent by the governors to queen Anne. They informed her, that the greatest harmony prevailed among the colonies; that the exertions in the public service were unremitting, and that it was indispensably necessary, that Canada should be subdued.

They concluded by humbly praying that her most gracious majesty, would be pleased to grant them an armament and assistance to that effect. Although the lieutenant-governor did not attend: yet he and his council, and the legislature of New-York, embarked in the furtherance of the plan.

Colonel Schuyler was dispatched with five of the Agoneasean chiefs to England, with an address. No man at this time was better calculated for this design, than colonel Schuyler. He had been born and brought up at Albany, then the seat of the Indian trade, and influence. He was perfectly acquainted with the manners, customs, and character of the Indians. His influence with the Agoneaseah was greater than that of any other man. Whenever their chiefs came to Albany, he invited them to entertainments at his house. It was in this way, that he had acquired an ascendancy over them.

Colonel Schuyler's arrival in England with the Agoneasean chiefs, excited considerable notice. Wherever he went the people collected in crowds.

The peers, lords, and commons, desired to see them. The queen and her court were no less solicitous.

The court of St. James was then in mourning. The chiefs were therefore dressed in mourning, and had an audience with her majesty. Sir Charles Cotterel, master of the ceremonies, conducted them from their quarters to the court, where they were introduced by the lord Chamberlain, into the royal presence. Their speech on the 19th of April, 1710, is preserved by Oldmixon.

The following is a translation; but it does not prove, after all, as some have asserted, that unlettered savages exceed civilized man in eloquence, pathos, and sentiment.

"GREAT QUEEN,

We have undertaken a long voyage, which none of our predecessors could be prevailed upon to undertake, to see our great queen, and relate to her those things which we thought absolutely necessary for the good of her, and us, her allies on the other side of the water."

"We doubt not, but our great queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the French; and we have been a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men. We were mightily rejoiced, when we heard our great queen had resolved to send an army to reduce Canada, and immediately in token of friendship, we hung up the kettle, and took up the hatchet, and with one consent, assisted general Nicholson in making preparations on this side of the lake; but at length we were told, our great queen, by some important affairs, was prevented in her design at present, which made us sorrowful, lest the French, who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think us unable to make war against them."

"The reduction of Canada is of great weight to our free hunting: so that if our great queen should not be mindful of us, we must with our families forsake the country, and seek other habitations, or stand neuter, either of which will be much against our inclination."

"In token of the sincerity of these nations, we do in their names, present our great queen with these belts of wampum, and in hopes

of our great queen's favor, leave it to her most gracious consideration."

This speech was not badly calculated to flatter the vanity of her majesty, and the whole court; and colonel Schuyler had the gratification to see his plan succeed.

Applications were now before the British court, from the province of New-York, and the colonies of New England, seconded by general Nicholson, and colonel Vetch, soliciting another expedition against Canada. The ministry favoured it, and gave encouragement. General Nicholson came over in July, accompanied by five or six frigates, with orders to raise recruits in the colonies. Instead, however, of employing them in the reduction of Canada, the ministry employed them in the reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia.

While colonel Schuyler was at the British court, captain Ingolsby was displaced, and Gerardus Beekman administered the government, from the tenth of April, 1710, till the arrival of general Hunter, on the 14th of June, following. Hunter had the province of New-Jersey, as well as that of New-York.

The late abortive attempt upon Canada exposed the colonies to the inroads of the French. These, however, were principally made on the northern frontiers of New England. New-York had indeed hitherto escaped: being covered by the Agoneaseah; but the inhabitants were under continual apprehensions of attacks.

Governor Hunter soon after his arrival, made a voyage to Albany, where he had an interview with the Agoneasean chiefs, and renewed the old covenant. While there, he was strongly solicited by the New-England governments, to engage the Agoneaseah in a war with those Indians who were ravaging their borders; but he very prudently declined a measure which might have transferred the seat of the war to New-York. A treaty of neutrality subsisted at that time, between the confederates, and the French of Canada, which was highly advantageous to the province.

Governor Hunter was a man of prudence, talents, and moderation; he did not attach himself to the Leislerian and Anti-Leislerian factions, which had agitated the province for twenty years: but took another course; he called the men of talents of both these

parties around him; he neither abetted or depressed either party. This was striking at the root of the evil. A different order of things ensued, and the province began to rise in consequence of it.

In November, 1710, the assembly directed that the fortifications of the city of Albany, and those of the town of Schenectady, should be repaired.

In the fall of this year, general Nicholson made another voyage to England, to urge again the Canada expedition. The expectation of the country had been so much disappointed by the measures of the ministry, that it was not expected that any assistance would be afforded. The business, however, was resumed, and the ministry fell in with the proposals.

On the eighth of June, 1711, Nicholson returned to Boston, with intelligence that a fleet might soon be expected from England; and with orders that the colonies of New England, New-York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, should have their contingents in readiness to join the expedition.

A general meeting of the governors of the colonies was immediately appointed at New London in Connecticut. The governors met, and while they were in council upon the subject of the orders, the fleet with five thousand troops arrived at Boston, on the twenty-fourth day of June. The fleet was not furnished either with pilots or provisions; and in addition to the troops, and stores required of the colonies, they were called upon to furnish provisions for the fleet.

So general and spirited had been the exertions of the colonies, that in little more than a month from the arrival of the fleet, the levies and provisions for the colonial army and fleet, were completed; and on the thirtieth of July, the whole armament sailed from Boston. The Fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war, with forty transports, and six store ships: under the command of Sir Hoveden Walker. The army on board, contained seven regiments of British troops, one battalion of marines, and two regiments of colonial troops, from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; the whole amounting to near seven thousand men, with a

fine train of artillery, and amply provided with warlike stores, under the command of general Hill.

On the same day on which the fleet sailed from Boston, general Nicholson set out for Albany: and about a month afterwards found himself at the head of four thousand men. This army was raised by the provinces of Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey. The contingent of Connecticut was commanded by colonel Whiting; that of New-York by colonel Schuyler; and that of New Jersey by colonel Ingolsby. The Agoneasean auxilliaries amounted to six hundred, and were procured by colonel Schuyler.

The French in Canada were not unapprised of these preparations. M. de Vaudreuil, the governor-general, sent his orders from Montreal to the Sieur Beaucourt, to hasten and strengthen the works he was about at Quebec; and commanded that all the regulars and militia, should hold themselves in readiness to march on the first warning. Four or five hundred Indians, of the more distant nations, arrived at the same time at Montreal with Messrs. St. Pierre, and Tonti, who, together with the Caughnewagas, took up the hatchet.

M. Vaudreuil dispatched several Indians and two missionaries to the Agoneaseah, to detach them from the English interest. Quebec was fortified, and put into the best situation that the time would allow, to sustain a siege; and all the principal posts below the city, on both sides of the river, were prepared to receive the British and colonial tooops, in case of their landing.

On the fourteenth of August, Sir Hoveden Walker arrived with the fleet in the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Fearful of losing the company of his transports, he put into Gaspe bay, and continued there till the twentieth. Two days after, he sailed from thence; the fleet was in the utmost danger, for they had no soundings, were without sight of land, the wind high, at east-south-east, and the sky obscured with a thick fog. In these circumstances, the fleet was brought to by the advice of the pilots, who were of opinion, that if the ships lay with their heads to the southward, they might be driven by the stream into the midst of the channel: but instead of this, about two hours after it being about midnight, they found themselves on the north shore among the rocks and islands, and upon the point

of being lost. The men of war escaped; but eight transports were wrecked on Egg island, near the north shore. Eight hundred, or one thousand men perished, and six or seven hundred were saved by the other ships. But one of the colonial transports was lost, and the men of that were saved.

Two or three days being spent in recovering what they could from the shore, it was determined to make some bay or harbor, till a further resolution could be taken.

On the fourteenth of September, they arrived at Spanish river bay, in the island of Cape Breton, where a council of war, consisting of land and sea officers, was held. After some fruitless consultations, it was unanimously resolved not to make any further attempt to go up the St. Lawrence, but to return to England.

The colonial troops returned home. The army designed to invade Canada, by way of lake Champlain, advanced as far as fort Anne on Wood creek, where they received intelligence of the disaster which had attended the fleet in the St. Lawrence. Nothing now remained for Nicholson, but to disband his army and return.

Both Nicholson and Vetch appear to have been unqualified for the stations they held.

The Marquis M. de Vaudreuil, who had been at Quebec waiting for the arrival of the English fleet, upon receiving information from the fishermen, and others, of its disasters, justly concluded that these were such, that they could not make any attempt upon Quebec; and thereupon, he ordered the whole force of Canada towards Montreal and lake Champlain; and formed a camp at Chambly of three thousand men to oppose Nicholson, should he endeavour to penetrate Canada in that quarter.

Soon after, he obtained information that this general had disbanded his army, and gone home.

The people of Albany, and those of the northern frontiers, were in the utmost consternation, and momentarily expected an invasion.

Such was the issue of the third attempt to effect the reduction of Canada. These attempts involved the colonies in heavy debts, destroyed numbers of their young men, and impaired public confidence.

Loud complaints were raised against the ministry. The ill success attending this expedition, gave the Agoneaseah a very unfavorable opinion of the power of the English, and their colonies. The emissaries sent among them by the governor of Canada, were sedulously employed in alienating them from the English interest. Very serious apprehensions were entertained by the government, that they were inclined to the French interest.

These apprehensions were afterwards realized; for some small parties fell upon the borders of the province, and murdered a few families, and carried others into captivity.

The Eastern Indians were also encouraged by the miscarrying of the expedition, to extend the tocsin of war upon the frontiers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and the district of Maine; and much damage was done the next summer in those parts.

Upon the return of the fleet, and the disbanding the army, the governors of New England formed the design of engaging the Agoneaseah in a war with the French, and wrote on that head to Mr. Hunter the governor of New-York; but he did nothing more than lay their letters before the legislature, who disapproved the plan.

In July of this year, the house made provision for levying forces for another expedition against Canada, and also for paying and subsisting them. Bills of credit were issued to a large amount, which involved the province in new debts. Measures were likewise adopted for the defence of the province, apart from its quota and expenses in the expedition, and sums to a considerable extent voted.

The English interest, in 1712, among the Agoneaseah, had declined so much, that that of the French gained the preponderance.

Early in the summer, the Mohickanders residing in Ulster county, sent a belt of wampum to the Mohiccons living in Dutchess, to prepare for war.

The Senecas, who lived in the vincinity of the French forts at Teoronto, and Niagara: and the Shawanese who inhabited between Susquehanna and Alleghany rivers, were so greatly dissatisfied, that apprehensions were entertained, that they would fall upon the fron-

tier inhabitants on the west side of the Hudson, and the east side of the Susquehanna.

Among the acts of the assembly this year, was the levying eight thousand and twenty-five ounces of plate, for the use of the governor of the province, which was already greatly impoverished by taxes, and military requisitions.

In 1710, the Germans who settled Schoharie, set out from the banks of river Rhine, and descended that river to Holland, where they embarked on board of ships, and sailed over to England. From thence they crossed the Atlantic ocean, and arrived at New-York in June, 1712. They proceeded from the latter place up the Hudson, and landed in Dutchess, where they built log-huts, and encamped in them during the winter of 1712, and 1713. In the spring of 1713, some crossed the river into Ulster, and settled at West Camp, now Saugerties. The station in Dutchess was called the East Camp, now Germantown.

In the same spring, a considerable party left the East Camp, and went up the river to Albany. Being provided by government with some provisions, and implements of husbandry, they departed from this place for Schoharie. They travelled on foot, carrying their all on their backs, along the Indian path, and reached it in four days. They had no domestic animals. The British government had made suitabel provision for them; but its agents, after their arrival in the province, defrauded them out of it.

The flats along Schoharie creek were mostly cleared at the time they came there, in May, 1713. Anterior, and subsequently to this, a band of Mohawks, called Schoharies, resided on them in several villages and hamlets, in an extent of twenty miles. They had about three hundred warriors. The Schoharies continued to reside there, till the commencement of the revolution; but their numbers were constantly on the decline.

A few Mohiccons, and others, from the maritime parts, contiguous to the ocean, lived with the Schoharies.

The Germans found most of the flats vacant, (uncultivated,) although cleared. These the Schoharies permitted them to till. They planted corn, and in the course of the summer, erected log-huts at their several stations. Till the corn became fit for roast-

ing and boiling, their food consisted of vegetables, roots, fish, and game.

The Schoharies were not backward in aiding their new guests in the chase. They also instructed them in planting and hoeing corn, and roasting, boiling, and pounding it, and baking it into bread.

In the autumn of 1713, one of the emigrants named Lambert Sternberg, planted six quarts of wheat, which yielded him in the ensuing year sixty bushels. This was the first wheat ever grown in Schoharie. It was hoed, which was the occasion of the great produce.

The inhabitants in the infancy of the settlement, were dressed with the skins of wild beasts. The men wore buckskin jackets, vests, breeches, leggins, and moccasins, and caps made of bear skins, fox skins, or the skins of some other animal dressed with the fur on.

The women and children were also clad in similar habliments. The Dutch and other settlers in the Mohawk and Hudson countries, very generally till our own time, wore buckskin breeches, and moccasins during winter.

The Germans had no horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, ploughs, drags, waggons, or sleighs; they had no roads, but Indian paths; no mills, no houses, but huts constructed of logs or poles and covered with bark. The ground was broken up and stirred with hoes and spades or shovels, and then planted.—Every operation was manual.

Their corn they pounded in wooden mortars. Their wheat they carried on their backs to Schenectady, a distance of nineteen miles, to be ground.

Twenty men and women would go in company in single file on the Indian road.

In 1716, or 1717, a man by the name of Fox, erected a grist mill on Fox creek, about a mile and a quarter north of the place where the court house now stands. This was the first mill ever built in Schoharie.

Schoharie it is said contained in 1752, about one hundred and twenty-five families, who dwelt in one hundred and four houses.

For some of the remarks on Schoharie, and as to some of the Indian roads, I am under obligations to a Mr. Brown: a son of one of the first settlers.

Two-thirds were Germans, and the rest Dutch, from Norman's Kill and Schenectady.

We have no data on which we can found an estimate of the number of the original settlers. It is certain, however, that several families went to Stone Arabia, in 1723, and from thence to Germanflats, in 1724, and that not a few proceeded through the woods to the Susquehanna river, and descended that stream to Tulpehocken in Pennslyvania, where they joined others of their countrymen. These emigrations were some years after the settlement, and were occasioned by defects in the titles to their land.

The French in 1756, after the capture of Oswego, overrun Germanflats. In 1757, they laid it waste. It was devastated by the English in the revolution.

The first settlers of Stone Arabia and Germanflats, were very poor, and surrounded with difficulties. There were no avenues to these places, but the Mohawk and Indian paths. The nearest mill was one twelve miles west of Schenectady, and one at the latter place, and the only conveyance to and from was canoes. Most of the corn and wheat used for some years, was pounded in mortars. The canoes used by the people of Stone Arabia, set out for mill from Palatine, and those of Germanflats, from the foot of Littlefalls. A few years after the settling of Stone Arabia and Germanflats, the Dutch erected mills on the Cayadutta, at Caughnawaga. Traditionary account.

The peace of Utrecht concluded between England and France, on the thirty-first of March, 1713, put an end to the war in America, as well as in Europe. The allies of both nations were included in the peace. Among its provisions, it was stipulated that the subjects of England and France should be at full liberty to trade with the Indians of both. But though these stipulations might bind the subjects of these nations, yet they had no validity on the allies of either. Neither confessed allegiance to those nations; they admitted to trade with them whom they pleased. When the Agoneaseah, and others, heard the news of peace, they inclined to repose. An evidence that the belligerents had induced them to enter into war.

The legislature of 1713, was opposed to the governor, and did

not grant him the extravagant sums which he demanded. Still, however, as he told them on the opening of the session, that he would pass no bills, without they complied with his wishes, they had to make some allowances to him.

In August, 1714, the house placed a sum of money at the disposition of his excellency, for the purpose of enabling him to purchase goods, trinkets, &c. for the Agoneaseah; and for disbursing his expenses to, at and from Albany, where he was to make the distribution, and enter into a compact with them.

At the session of 1716, appropriations were made for the reparation of the fortifications at Albany. Bounties were provided for such as killed wild cats, and foxes, in Kings, Queens, and Suffolk counties. From this it may be perceived, that these counties had populated but slowly.

A law, in the autumn of 1717, was made, appointing persons to run the line between this province and New-Jersey.

The legislature, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1719, voted a sum of money to construct a bridge over Kinderhook creek, in the county of Albany. The place located for this bridge, was close by the village of Kinderhook in Columbia county.

In the same law, provision was made for altering some roads in the province. Claverack was settled about the same time that Kinderhook was. The first settlers at the latter place were a few Swedish families. The Dutch and English came afterwards. Provision by law was made for running and ascertaining the lines of partition and division, between this province and that of Connecticut.

Governor Hunter resigned on the 19th of July, 1719, and was succeeded by colonel Schuyler, the president of the council. During the short time he held the government, he repaired to Albany, and made a treaty with the Agoneaseah. This treaty was little more than a ratification of the ancient covenant.

CHAPTER XVIII.

William Burnet, Esq. arrives on the 17th of September, 1722, and assumes the government of the province.—Congress of governors and commissioners at Albany.—Erection of a fort and trading-house at Oswego.—Stone Arabia settled, in 1723, by the Germans; also Germanflats on the Mohawk, about the same time, by the same people.—The close of Mr. Burnet's administration unpopular.—Is superseded by John Montgomery, Esq. April, 1729. —Negro act passed in October, 1730, &c.—Death of Mr. Montgomery, in July, 1731.—Rip Van Dam, Esq. succeeds him as president of the province.—Mr. Crosby assumes the command of the province, in August, 1732.—Rate of ferriage between New-York and Brooklyn, fixed by law, &c.—Government of Mr. Clark.

William Burnet, Esq. superseded colonel Schuyler, the president, as governor of the province, on the 17th of September, 1720. He is represented to have been a man of sense and learning, and to have been of a mild disposition. He studied the arts of recommending himself to the people. No governor before him did so much business in the court of chancery; but his decisions were not marked with much legal science, or judgment. Messrs. Morris and Alexander, and Dr. Colden, were his confidents. They were all men of talents, and in public estimation.

The assembly in November, this year, made regulations for putting the militia into a better condition to defend the province in case of invasion.

Among the acts made, there was one for mending and keeping in repair the post road, leading from the city of New-York, to King's bridge. The utmost harmony subsisted at this session, between the house and his excellency.

Mr. Burnet seems to have been better acquainted with the province, than any of his predecessors. He is the first who endeavoured to obtain the command of lake Ontario. For this purpose, he formed the project of establishing a trading-house, and military post at the mouth of Oswego river. To carry his project into effect, he commenced building a trading-house and fort, in the country of the Onondagas, in the year 1722; and recommended provision for the residence of trusty persons, among these people and the Senecas.

This year was remarkable for a congress of several governors and commissioners at Albany. The ancient friendship with the Agoneaseah was renewed at the same time. Mr. Burnet prevailed upon them to send a message to the Eastern Indians, threatening them with a war, unless they concluded a peace with the colonies of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, which were greatly harrassed by their frequent irruptions.

Albany was at this time a great mart for fur. In July, 1723, the house appropriated a sum to defray the expense of two sheds, which had been erected for the accommodation of the Agoneaseah and other Indians, who came there to vend their skins.

In 1724, provision was made for fortifying Albany. In an act passed by the assembly, July, 24th, Claverack is described as a precinct in the manor of Rensselaerwick. The Dutch then occupied the flats along Claverack creek.

From an act of the same date, it appears that Schoharie was then called a precinct. The act provided for laying out, and opening a road therein. Schoharie was settled in 1713, by the Germans. Some Dutch families seated themselves there soon afterwards.

The erection of the trading-house at the mouth of Oswego river, and the establishment of another trading-house at Irondequot, upon lake Ontario, in the country of the Senecas, excited the jealousy of the French. Fearful of losing a profitable trade with the Agoneaseah, which they had almost entirely engrossed, and the command of lake Ontario; they built two vessels at fort Frontenac, and transported materials for building a large storehouse, and repairing the fort at the mouth of Niagara river. Baron de Longueil, who had the chief command in Canada, on the death of M. de Vaudreuil,

in October, 1725, went in person to Onondaga, where he obtained permission to raise the storehouse at Niagara. When this matter came to the knowledge of the other cantons belonging to the Agoneaseah, they were displeased with the French, and declared that the permission given by the Onondagas was void. They sent deputies to the French commandant at Niagara, with a message, signifying that the ground on which they were at work, belonged to the country of the Senecas, and required them immediately to desist. The French, however, continued their labours with all possible dispatch. M. Joncaire, who had been adopted by the Senecas, and was well esteemed by the Onondagas, used all his address among them, to prevent the interruption and demolition of the works. Canada was greatly indebted to him for his incessant labours among the natives. He spoke the Huron with as much fluency as he did his mother tongue. Possessing great influence, he facilitated the missionaries in their progress through the Agoneasean cantons, lessened the influence of the English, and rendered their dependence upon them precarious. Colonel Schuyler had been so thoroughly convinced of this, that at a treaty held with them in 1719, he endeavoured to prevail upon them to drive Joncaire out of their country.

In relation to the works which the French constructed at Niagara, it is probable that the Senecas cared very little about them, and that they would never have sent deputies to the commandant with orders to desist, had they not been instigated to it by the emissaries of Mr. Burnet. The French and English traders were jealous and hostile, the one to the other. Both endeavoured to obtain the trade of the Indigines. Various arts were resorted to by them, in order to gain it. The French being more engaging in their manners ultimately succeeded.

This year there was a conference at Albany, between the Agoneasean chiefs, and Mr. Burnet.

Stone Arabia was settled in 1722, or 1723, by Germans from Schoharie, and Germanflats on the Mohawk river, the year thereafter by the same people. Germanflats was for some time called Burnet's fields. The Agoneaseah called the country west of Littlefalls, embracing at this day the towns of Germanflats, Herkimer,

Schuyler, and Frankfort, Kow-ogo-con-ugh-ha-rie-gugh-arie. This was the most remote settlement in the province, and continued to be such till 1785, when the late Mr. Hugh White transcended Germanflats, and founded Whitestown, the oldest place in the western country.

From an act passed in 1726, it appears that the public road on the north side of the Mohawk, ended at Cayadutta creek, about a mile west of Caughnawaga. The same act directed that a road should be opened as far westwardly as the settlements extended. The colonists of Stone Arabia and Germanflats, reached those places by the Indian roads.

The administration of Mr. Burnet gradually became unpopular, owing principally to decrees which he made in chancery contrary to law; and to his interposition in ecclesiastical and other matters. The whole assembly became dissaffected to him. It resolved that the erecting or exercising a court of chancery in the province, without the consent of the assembly, was contrary to the laws of England, and subversive of the rights of the subjects. It was also resolved, that it would at its next session pass a law, declaring all the decrees and proceedings of said court illegal, null, and void; and that it would take into consideration whether such a court be necessary or not, and in whom the jurisdiction ought to be vested, &c. Mr. Burnet no sooner heard of these resolutions, than he called the members before him, and dissolved the assembly.

We are now come to the close of Mr. Burnet's administration, when he was appointed to the chief command of Massachusetts. The excessive love of money, a disease common to all his predecessors, and to some who succeeded him, was a vice from which he was entirely free. He sold no offices: nor did he attempt to raise a fortune by indirect means.

John Montgomery, Esq. superseded Mr. Burnet, on the 15th day of April, 1728. In talents for government, he was much inferior to his predecessor; he had neither strength nor acuteness of parts, and was but little acquainted with any kind of literature.

As in the natural, so in the political world, a violent storm is often succeeded by a peaceful calm; tired by the mutual struggles of party rage, every man now ceased to act under its influence. The

governor's good humour too, extinguished the flames of contention: for being unable to plan, he had no particular scheme to pursue; and thus, confining himself to the exercise of the common acts of government, the public affairs of the province flowed on in a peaceful uninterrupted stream. Governor Montgomery dissolved the assembly, and called a new one. Among the acts passed, are some for improving and laying out roads in the counties of New-York, Westchester, and Dutchess. After the legislature had risen, his excellency went up to Albany, and on the first of October, held a treaty with the Agoneaseah for the renewal of the ancient covenant. He gave them great presents, and engaged them in the defence of Oswego. This post was usually guarded by a lieutenant and twenty-five men.*

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1730, the assembly passed an act for the more effectually preventing and punishing the conspiracy and insurrection of negroes, and other slaves, as it is quaintly stiled. The act, after providing penalties against such as might trade with slaves, allowed the owners to punish them for crimes at discretion, provided the punishment did not extend to life or limb. It contained these farther provisions, that not above three should meet together, unless it should be in some servile employment; under the penalty of being whipped upon the naked back, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, a number of lashes not exceeding forty for each offence. The act provided farther, that every city, town, and manor within the province, should hereafter appoint a common whipper, or flagillator for its slaves. This dignified personage was to have such compensation as the owners of slaves should vote; but it was not to exceed three shillings for any case of flagillation, or laceration. It seems that certain slave holders, possessed of humane feeling, were opposed to such barbarous legislation: for we find that in cases of neglect, or refusal to pay the flagiliator, that such flagillated slave or slaves, might be committed to jail till the same was paid, together with the costs of committal. The punishment for assaulting, or striking any Christian or Jew, was imprisonment for any period of time, not exceeding fourteen days,

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* Smith's Hist. of N. Y.

and such scourging as two justices of the peace, might in their wisdom and power think proper, provided, however, for this strange law had its provisoes, that it should not extend to life or limb. By the same act, slaves were not allowed to give evidence, except against slaves. They were debarred the right of trial by jury, unless their masters made election. The proceedings in these times against this unfortunate portion of the human race, for crimes, or supposed crimes and offences, were excessively severe. Every procedure was committed to justices of the peace, who were vested with the power of trying, condemning, and ordering bloody executions in a summary manner. No appeal lay from their decision; no merciful hand could interpose. The decree of the justice was decisive. The sympathy of the owner, if he had any, and there were such, was of no avail. In vain were his remonstrances and solicitations in behalf of his slave. He could not bring his case before a higher, a more intelligent, a more enlightened, and a more impartial tribunal. O tempora, O mores! What an order of things! Who can read these barbarous laws without indignation and pity. But why should we advert to the colonial laws of the province, and to the times? We have abundance of examples in our own time. It is true, the New England people have extirpated slavery among us; but in the states southerly of Pennsylvania, and south of the Ohio, and west of the Mississippi, it still holds with all its force, its horrors, and its barbarity. There are no governments in the world where a whole people are held in bondage worse than that of the Israelites; but the English and the American—we do not intend to censure the people of the northern, and north-western states, where slavery either does not exist, or is breathing its last gasp. In vain do we talk about Ottoman slavery; in vain do we commiserate the lot of the Greeks. Their's is the condition of a conquered people, permitted by their conquerors to enjoy the lands of their fathers, upon the payment of such exactions as the Sultan may think proper to make. He does not sell them so long as they pay exactions, and render submission. He has not deprived them of their lands. All they can make beyond the exactions, belong to them. Many have amassed princely fortunes under the conquerors. But not so with the English and American slaves. They

have neither houses nor lands: nor have they any of their earnings. Every thing goes to the master. The slave has nothing which he can call his own. He has no home; no resting place. The despot who owns him, is entitled to all his earnings. He may castigate him; he may sell him. The slave is valued like other property. The husband may be separated from the wife: or the wife from the husband and the children; and these again from both. Such occurrences are frequent and common. They excite no commiseration. They are vulgar; and every thing which is vulgar, passes without emotion. But we will not consume more time on a subject, which among slave holders, can only beget us hate.

In the year 1731, the disputed boundary between this province and Connecticut was settled; an event of no small moment.

His excellency Mr. Montgomery, died on the first of July this year. His death, owing to his humane disposition, was considerably lamented.

The command of the province then devolved upon Rip Van Dam, Esq. he being the oldest of the council. During his administration, the French built fort Frederick, ~~on the east side of~~ lake Champlain; but afterwards they removed the garrison to the west side, where they erected a strong fort, which gave them the command of the lake, and the only practicable avenue at that time leading into Canada. The situation of the fort was admirably adapted to repel an invasion, and to facilitate incursions into New-York and New England.*

Mr. Van Dam finished his administration on the first of August, 1732, when William Cosby, Esq. arrived with a commission to govern this, and the province of New Jersey. Mr. Cosby's administration commenced under very favourable auspices.

The legislature convened pursuant to proclamation, on the 19th of August. The house presented to his excellency a congratulatory address, and received in return, his answer filled with compliments, containing a strong intimation for money. Among the laws enacted, there was one for the improvement and making of roads in the counties of Queens, Kings, Richmond, Westchester, Dutchess,

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* Crown Point.

and Ulster: another regulating the rates of ferriage between New-York and Brooklyn. The latter is a curious specimen of legislation, and savors much of a tariff bill. Among the rates fixed upon upwards of three hundred articles, there was one giving to the ferryman, three eggs for every hundred carried to market.

A law was passed at this session, imposing a tax on wigs. A custom about this time had been imported, which imposed upon young men and boys the necessity of shaving their heads, and wearing large wigs. The legislature might, however, after all, have employed their time to better advantage, than in intermeddling with a custom so absurd.

But the wig tariff was not so oppressive as the egg tariff. The latter put women and girls to no small inconvenience, in stopping when on their way to market, to have their eggs counted; besides, it must have occasioned no trifling merriment to travellers, to see the ferryman over-hauling the eggs, and arranging them in rows on the sand, where he and the females occasionally disputed about the numbers, and the amount of duty, which often led to a second or third counting, before the controverted point could be settled. We should like to know the logical reason which led the assembly to the passage of such a law. Was it to know how many eggs the citizens consumed in one year; or was it because the ferryman was fond of eggs; or was it because the members had no other way of wasting their time?

Some provision was made for a public school in the city of New-York, for teaching Latin, Greek, and mathematics.

At the session, in the year 1734, means were provided for the defence of Albany, Schenectady, and other places in the province. It appears from the act, that the Dutch church at Schenectady was kept in a defensible situation, so that in case the place should be assaulted, a portion of the inhabitants might take refuge in it. There was a road at this time westwardly to Caughnawaga creek, twenty-eight miles.

The title of the act, from which we learn this, is in these words: "An act for the more effectually repairing the road from Towerjoine, to Caughnawaga creek, in the county of Albany.

An act was passed in favor of the quakers, which conferred on

them the same privileges which their brethren then enjoyed in England.

The accounts from England, having induced an opinion that there would soon be a war with France, the house in 1735, voted six thousand pounds for the defence of New-York, four thousand for the defence of Albany, and eight hundred for the defence of Schenectady. Appropriations were made for messengers, and presents to the Senecas.

There were but two newspapers edited at this time in the colony, and these were both in the city of New-York. The one was the court, and the other the anti-court paper; very much like those distinctions in our own times. The columns of these papers abounded with approbations and animadversions. Each editor considered himself in the right; government stepped forward, and ordered some of the numbers to be burnt by the common hangman. This was like settling a controverted point: the unfeeling newspapers had to make expiation at the stake. Zenger, the anti-court editor was indicted, and after an imprisonment of eight months, was tried and acquitted.

George Clark succeeded to the administration in March, 1736. In 1737, an act was made, called the forty shilling act.

Van Dam also assumed the government: so that the province had two presidents. The assembly were convened, and through the influence of Mr. Alexander, recognized Mr. Clark; but still Van Dam held on till a commission came from England, naming the former lieutenant-governor.

Mr. Clark went to Albany, and conferred with the Agoneaseah, and renewed the former compact. At this time, garrisons were maintained at New-York, Albany, Fort Hunter, and Oswego.

The assembly, notwithstanding its boasted resolves in favour of liberty, came to a very extraordinary resolution in relation to the Jews: which was this, "that they should neither be allowed to vote at an election, or testify in a cause." The Jews and Roman catholics, had long been obnoxious to the leading men.

In Europe, war broke out between England and Spain, in the year 1739. It is not our province to pourtray the popular clamors

raised in England: and the wishes of the people to die their hands in Spanish blood.

Letters of marque and reprisal were granted. The armies were augmented; a fleet was assembled at Spithead; the naval force of admiral Haddock was increased; and an embargo was laid on all outward bound merchantmen.

During this year, the small pox made great ravages in the city of New-York, and the adjacent parts. Seventy families of Scotch Highlanders landed in the course of the year, with an intent of settling on Wood creek, of lake Champlain.

The animosities between the lieutenant-governor and the house, were renewed in 1739.

We shall next call the attention of the reader, to the negro plot, as it is called:—

A story was got up, that the negroes had conspired the destruction of New-York. The prisons were soon filled to an overflowing with these unfortunate people.

The story was universally believed; public opinion became greatly excited. A court of oyer and terminer was called, and thirty-two were convicted and put to death, upon the bare testimony of prostitutes, and persons of infamous character.

Fourteen of the victims were burnt at the stake. And to swell the catalogue of innocent victims, the Rev. John Ury, a catholic clergyman of unblemished character, and a Mr. Huson, at whose domicile he had staid while in the city, were put to death as accomplices.

The wretched Africans were arraigned, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, without the benefit of counsel. So great was the burst of public clamor, that no council dared to tender his services. The trials were mockerys upon justice, and merit the hearty execrations of a more enlightened age.

In 1741, the assembly made provision for the defence of New-York and other places: some supplies were voted in 1742, for defence.

On the twenty-third of September, 1743, George Clinton. Esq. who had been appointed governor of the colony, arrived and succeeded Mr. Clark.

In the administration of Mr. Clark, there is not much to distinguish it from that of his predecessor. Yet after all, it must be confessed, that he possessed prudence, moderation, and talents, very well calculated to promote the prosperity of the province. In general, he manifested a strong desire to conciliate the affections of the people. He was unremitted in his attention to commerce, and the general prosperity of the province. He was well informed, and possessed of integrity. His speeches do honor to him as a scholar.

The arrival of Mr. Clinton, as was usually the case, diffused joy throughout the colony. Very favourable accounts of his talents and generosity had preceded him: hence the people entertained high expectations.

The dissolution of the house, on the promulgation of his commission, and the annunciation of a new house, were very acceptable to the public.

In March, 1744, war broke out between England and France. Three thousand two hundred pounds were voted for placing the frontier posts in attitudes of defence: besides an additional sum for the works at Albany. An act for the relief of imprisoned debtors was made this year: also an act for the better organization of the militia.

This year, his excellency had an interview with the chiefs of the Agoneaseah, and renewed the ancient covenant. At this interview, they wisely declined a participation in the contest between France and England, so long as the belligerents might not invade their state. Commissioners from Connecticut and Massachusetts, also attended at the interview, for the purpose of reviving the ancient amity and allegiance, subsisting between their colonies and them. Meanwhile, the war caused considerable alarm on the borders of the province.

A detachment was sent from Albany, to augment the garrison of Oswego.

In the course of the year, complaint was made by the governor of Virginia, to the government of New-York, that the Agoneaseah had committed some depredations on the frontiers of that province. A messenger was dispatched to Onondaga, to make enquiries; but

he soon returned with an answer, from which it appears, that they denied the accusation, and alleged that the Virginians had first fired upon some of their warriors.

The English ministry, in the early part of the year 1745, instructed the governor of New-York, to carry the war into Canada. As on former occasions, it was supposed that the enterprise would succeed. The house, however, after deliberation, concluded that it would be more to the interest of the colony, not to engage in an enterprise which could at best only incur large expenses to the province. Not, however, to give too much umbrage to the ministry, it voted five thousand pounds towards defraying the expense of an expedition against Cape Breton. Military centinels were established in the city and county of Albany, in order to sound the alarm, in case the enemy should send marauding parties into the province. England and France were now preparing to prosecute the war with vigor. The colonies of both countries were also making preparations.

At an early day, Mr. Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, had communicated to the executive of New-York, his desire of forming an expedition against Lewisburgh, and had requested his co-operation. He represented that such an expedition could not fail of success. He urged the levying of troops, and other measures in furtherance of the design. He stated that the colony of Massachusetts, had at a great expense raised her quota.

The scheme of reducing the fortress of Cape Breton, was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by the ministry, who sent instructions to commodore Warren to sail for the northern parts of America, and there cooperate with the forces of New England. A body of six thousand men was assembled, under the command of Mr. Peperel, a merchant of Maine, whose influence was extensive in that country. In April, Mr. Warren arrived at Canso, with ten ships of war, and the troops of New England being embarked, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape Breton, where they landed without opposition. The American troops carried on the investment by land, with so much vigor, that the garrison despairing of resistance and relief, capitulated on the 17th of June, in the same year In the course

of the siege, the fleet under commodore Warren rendered essential services in intercepting supplies, and straitening the enemy on the water side. The people of New England acquired great applause in this enterprise. Indeed the reduction of the fortress and island, was owing mainly to them. The land army was entirely levied in their country.

While the forces of New England were employed in the reduction and conquest of Lewisburg, and the island of Cape Breton, the colony of New-York was sedulously engaged in the defence and protection of its extended borders. Intelligence had found its way into the province, that the French intended to invade it from Canada, with fifteen hundred veterans, and one hundred Indians. This occasioned considerable alarm. Colonel Schuyler, and major Collins, who commanded a body of provincials then at Saratoga, were obliged to suspend the construction of six block-houses, which they had begun to make, in consequence of the assaults of the Indians in the employment of France, on their men. These parties in a measure intercepted the supplies of men and provisions, going to Saratoga.

Murders were often committed by the enemy, within a few miles of Albany. Two hundred men were drafted to increase and strengthen the garrisons at the latter place, and Schenectady. These were drafted from the militia of Suffolk, Queens, Westchester, Dutchess, Ulster, and Orange. The settlements of Saratoga and Hoosack, were broken up, and the inhabitants retired either to Albany, or those parts near it. Most of the houses were burnt by the Indians, and the districts entirely devastated; and no inconsiderable number of the people were killed, or carried away into captivity.

The inhabitants of Orange and Ulster, were in the utmost consternation: they expected every day that the Mohickanders and Munseys, would lift the tomahawk against them. Colonel De Kay was dispatched into those parts, for the purpose of appeasing them. Many families of Minisink and Esopus, made dispositions to leave those places, and retire to the left bank of the Hudson, where it was supposed there was more security. In these exigencies, the province was left to defend itself.

The frontiers of New England were also exposed to frequent and destructive inroads. Stockbridge adjoining this state was beset by six hundred French and Indians. Woodstock, a thriving village in Connecticut, had been destroyed a little before, and nearly two hundred of the militia cut off.

In October this year, the Agoneaseah, to the number of five hundred, covened at Albany, and held a grand conference with the commissioners of New-York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Messrs. Clinton, Horsmanden, and Murray, attended for the province of New-York; Messrs. Stoddard, Wendel, Wells, and Hutchins, on behalf of Massachusetts; Messrs. Wolcott, and Stanley, on the part of Connecticut; and Messrs. Lawrence, Kinsey, and Norris, on the part of Pennsylvania.

About a month before this conference, the colony of Massachusetts had declared war against the Eastern and Canadian Indians.

The objects which the colonies had in view, were to conciliate the Agoneaseah, and prevail upon them to take part in the war. But these studiously avoided a participation in a contest, which would be no benefit to them. All therefore which the commissioners could effect, was a treaty with them.

In December, the legislature voted forty thousand pounds for the defence of the province.

The assembly, in the month of February, 1746, passed a law, giving rewards for such scalps, and prisoners of the enemy, as should be taken. In palliation for the enactment of such a law, the framers alleged it was retaliatory, and made to induce the enemy to conduct the war with more humanity on their part.

In the early part of this year, the enemy and their Indians had become so emboldened with success, that small marauding parties came frequently in the very vicinity of Albany, and there were not instances wanting of their entering the suburbs at night, and carrying off persons.

Thirteen thousand pounds were voted for the defence of the province.

The borders of the province, notwithstanding the measures adopted by government for their defence, continued to be exposed

to all the horrors of savage warfare. In May, several persons were murdered hard by Schenectady, and some buildings burnt.

The border inhabitants were filled with consternation. In general, the settlements were deserted, the people having retired to the block-houses, and other places of security. To guard against the inroads and attacks of the enemy was impractiable, on account of the extent and insular positions of the settlements. All the men in the province would have been inadequate to have completely protected the county of Albany.

Those of Schenectady, Gaughnawaga, Esopus, and Minisink, were nearly in the like condition. Even Kinderhook, Claverack, and Poughkeepsie, although on the east side of the Hudson, were not exempt from danger. Large woods surrounded them; the settlements were still feeble, and nothing prevented the enemy from visiting them but their remoteness. A thick forest extended all the way from Kinderhook to the St. Lawrence. The forsaken settlement at Hoosack, scarcely formed a highway across it.

An idea may be formed of the feebleness of the settlements of Claverack and Kinderhook, from the consideration that there was only one block-house at each place. Under these alarming circumstances, when destruction menaced the interior and remote parts of the province; several spirited individuals came forward and volunteered their services. Among these was a Mr. Abraham Glen of Schenectady, who headed one hundred volunteers. The alarm also spread over New-Jersey; and five hundred men were raised to protect its frontiers.

In July, the assembly voted forty thousand pounds for the defence of the province, and to aid in forwarding another expedition, which had been planned for the conquest of Canada, and which, like the preceding, ended in smoke.

The English writers say the armament was postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was too far advanced to hazard an expedition to North America.

In New-York, the assembly, among the laws which it enacted, passed one whereby ship carpenters, house carpenters, joiners, sawyers, and all artificers, and labourers, were arbitrarily pressed into the public service; and also horses, wagons, and all other things which could tend to the invasion, were placed at the discre-

tion of the officers entrusted with the management of the enterprise. The county of Albany alone had to furnish three hundred men.

Differences arose between the colonies in relation to presents to be given to the Agoneaseah, the provinces of Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, declined to bear a share, and willingly threw the burden on New-York. The amount, although inconsiderable, occasioned jealousy, and thwarted the common cause.

The city of Albany in the summer of this year, was visited by a contagious disease, which swept away no inconsiderable number of its inhabitants. The Agoneaseah then encamped in its environs, were not exempt from the same disease, which proved fatal to many, and occasioned the governor to send the survivors home.

In the month of July, the governor had an interview with the Agoneasean chiefs, and those of some other tribes, at which they assured him they would participate in the war: but after all, they prudently concluded that it would be wise policy in them, to accept of the presents made by England and France, and their colonies, and then remain neuter. We cannot, with some, censure them for the prudent course they took. They had no interest in the contests between England and France.

In 1747, some differences ocurred between the assembly and the governor, in respect to the provincial troops. From it, we learn that there were four companies of men stationed at Halfmoon; two at Schaghtikoke; three at Saratoga; three at Connestigune; two at Schenectady; one at fort Hunter; and one between that place and Schenectady. In addition to these, there were men stationed at Kinderhook, Schoharie, Caughnawaga, Stone Arabia, Canajoharie, and Germanflats; Ulster and Orange had also some small garrisons. The main body of the provincial forces was stationed at Albany.

In the spring of 1747, M. Debeline, with a body of French and Indians, made an attempt to take a fort at Number Four, now Charlestown, in New Hampshire, but failed. This was then the most advanced post on Connecticut river. Captain Stevens commanded it.

The Indians of the enemy, this year, waylaid a party of men belonging to Schenectady, who went out for timber, and killed

thirty-nine. The place where these men fell, is about four miles north-north-west of the city, in the town of Glenville.

The legislature ordered a levy of eight hundred men in addition to those in the public service, to aid in an expedition against Canada. Twenty-eight thousand pounds were voted for the service. Bills of credit, as on former occasions, were issued, and made redeemable at future times.

On the eighth of April, 1748, the assembly passed a law, which authorised the inhabitants of Schenectady, to construct two block-houses for its defence.

It was enacted at this session, that the citizens of New-York might raise one thousand eight hundred pounds by a public lottery, to ~~aid in~~ founding a college.

Provision was made, in October, for paying the colonial forces in the north, and also for the garrison at Oswego.

The treaty of peace concluded between Great Britain and France, on the seventh of October, 1747, put an end to the war; but the Indians did not not cease their hostilities till some time in the year 1749.

END OF VOL. II.

ERRATA TO VOL. II.

Page 27, line 11, read *form* for from.
do 31, line 17, read and between Seneca *and* Tompkins.
do do 21, read *and* sixty.
do do line 3 from the bottom, for Tioga read *Steuben.*
do 40, line 17 from the top, read It is 32 miles in length from east to west, and about 16 in breadth from north to south, instead of, it is 32 miles in width from N. to S.
do 69, line 8 from the bottom, for Sandy *Hood* read Sandy Hook.
do 71, do 10, read years for *yerrs.*
do 99, do 5 from bottom, for are read *is.*
do 107, line 3 from the foot, read could for *would.*
do 108, line 12 from foot, read *would answer* for answer.
do 109, line 1, read *flourish* for flonish.
do do line 20, read *was* for were.
do 111, line 5 from foot, for *this has* read the ditch has.
do do line 2 do after *eighty* read *feet.*
do 113, line 15, do before the word *before* read which.
do 118, line 4 do read are for *were.*
do 120, line 18 do read vicinity for *vincinity.*
do 121, line 1, expunge *is.*
do 122, line 3, for moved read *removed.*
do 124, line 12, reject at the beginning of the line *the.*
do 128, line 17, read informs us instead of *informs.*
do 185, lines 4 & 5 from foot, read between the forty-first and forty-fourth degrees instead of forty-fourth and forty-fifth.
do 259, line 16 from the top, read *arms* for ams.
do 312, line 4 from the bottom, expunge the word *to.*
do 324, line 5 from the top, between the words acres and woods substitute *of.*
do 331, line 13 from the top, for *peope* read people.
do 333, line 13 do for would had read would *have.*
do 357, line 9 from the bottom, instead of in favor of read, in favor *of such of.*
do 402, line 4 from the top, for defened read *defend.*
do 404, line 3 do for honse read *house.*
do 440, line 16 do for habliments read *habiliments.*
do 453, line 9 from the bottom, read *alliance* for allegiance.
do 456, line 7 from the top, for covened read *convened.*

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